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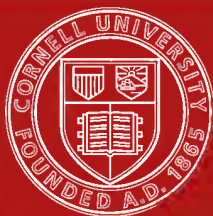
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The Templars' Trials:

AN ATTEMPT

TO

ESTIMATE THE EVIDENCE PUBLISHED BY DUPUY, RAYNOUARD, MICHELET,
VON HAMMER AND LOISELEUR,

AND TO

Arrange the Documents in the Chronological Order

SUGGESTED BY THE LATTER.

BY

J. SHALLOW.

Ai-je compris la voix qui parle de ton tombeau ?—VICTOR HUGO.

LONDON :

STEVENS AND SONS, 119, CHANCERY LANE,
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THE TEMPLARS' TRIALS.

CHAP. I.

The present state of the controversy.

After the next round, the duel shall be over.

(T. ROBERTSON.)

WHILE turning over the highly respectable pages of an old number 'of the Gentleman's Magazine in my arbour last year I was startled by finding "A Project for the Advancement of Religion in America" separated from "A sad Accident caused through eating Boiled Kidney Beans" by the engraving of a curious Idol. Whence came this ambiguous figure, formerly owned by a Smyrna merchant, and then presented to a firm at Islington, the translations of whose inscription vary from each other most amazingly, and the symbols of whose dress the Morocco Ambassador could not satisfactorily explain? Only when it was viewed in the fierce light of Von Hammer's criticism did one realize what traditions met at its carving; the Theology of Egypt, the Philosophy of Greece, and the Science of Persia gathered there for a final rally against the common enemy Christianity on the common ground of Crime.

A like surprise awaits the student of the crusades; among many natural events, we come upon one, the Templars' Trial, that is puzzling. No wonder. We can even to this day still only guess at the rank of the prisoners, the motives of the prosecutors, the materials for the accusation, the species of the offence, the normality of the procedure, the fulness of the confessions, the scope of the defence, the very names of the victims, and half the evidence that condemned them. When will some Continental antiquarian edit the early French depositions and the acts of the Council of Vienne, which are kept unprinted, so illogically by the Paris Library, so logically by the Vatican? The inquests by the Gallican Bishops and their Provincial Councils, and that at Ravenna, should also be recoverable. Another pinch of documentary dust is still wanted to lay that obstinate phantom, the Innocence of the Temple.

In this pamphlet however, which announces no new discovery, and only arrives at an old conclusion, I can but claim, at best to have refuted some of the current theories, or at worst to have disobeyed Professor Freeman's maxim, that we should read about one generation before we write about another. That way combined information lies.

¹ Vol. 25—(o.s.) p. 104.

CHAP. II.

The Temple was originally orthodox.

*The ivory turned to iron,
The cross became a sword.*
(G. ELIOT.)

“ALL good presumptions make for our Order,” said Peter Bononia; and it was true. The suspicions about its origin felt by excited moderns were not shared by Radulph Gisi or the chroniclers; they treated it as an orthodox though self-willed part of the Church system. Very naturally. If there ever existed some old-world garrison protecting the Two Graves at Jerusalem against eight invasions and three religions, its spirit would have been more likely to have inspired the Hospitallers, who were so much earlier on the ground, and who, if they once had it, would have been too proud to invite the new-comers to partake, still less would have hurried to copy their habits. The Templars did receive their ritual from the Canons of St. Sepulchre, but the Heresy is mainly alleged to have lurked in their secular assemblies. Inscriptions again declaring “Our origin was Seven,” or “I and Seven others were there,” do not well fit an order whose own tradition ran that their origin was Two, and whose founder went to Troyes with Five companions. So the later statutes show ‘a tentative approach to Heresy; but that is inconsistent with the congenital theory; a good batsman does not hit his own wicket. Even the phrase “Temple of Solomon” sounds grander to us than it did to men who knew it for a ruined barrack, as distinct from the spiritual centre of Jerusalem as the Head Quarters of our Gloucestershire Regimental District are from the Horse Guards. No doubt the Templars were more military than the Hospitallers, but their religion can hardly have been a mere after-thought to promote discipline, devised in the Court of Jerusalem, itself dependent on enthusiasm; had they thus tried to succeed they would have failed, and have got neither sincere recruits, nor legacies to attract insincere ones. Besides, each Order was granted priests at the same time as a privilege. Oddly enough, the more pugnacious was the more ascetic, and had the largest supply of spiritual good deeds to distribute to its adherents.

This mixture of sanctity and soldiering seems best explained by supposing H. Payens to have been a hero, and to have impressed his character on his followers, developing them into a type distinct from Hospitallers or Teutons, but with no recognized claims to mystery or authority for enhancing their position.

¹ Chamburé-Maillard (*Règle des Templiers*), 443.

CHAP. III.

How the Orders grew.

—*The palanquin*
Rested amidst the desert's dreariment.
(KEATS.)

THE knightly Orders proved a soul under the very ribs of the decaying kingdom of Jerusalem; there was nothing like them elsewhere, and there never has been; but from the arrogance of their minor officials in the West we may infer that the Convents were very independent in the East. The formal circulars by the Grand Masters announcing successive defeats sped through Europe, but they only evoked fresh contributions from men too worldly to assume the Cross, and too conventional to discover the lukewarmness of those who had. The very prosperity of the Orders shows how their justification was failing; even when they had lost the Holy Land, they still plumed themselves on the rapid growth of their endowments.

Disaster produced their wealth, and that in turn produced disaster. Mean as millionaires, they always pleaded their vow as a reason, not for spending money against the Pagan, but for hoarding it against the Christian. They also increased it unscrupulously; discarding their paid squires, they sold the situations to a class of Indifferents; everything, from spiritual privilege to military command, was knocked down to the highest bidder like a horse at an auction. Simony is a deduction from the great fact that one man is practically as good as another; still that is one of those truths which it is a mistake to believe; it discourages energy in its votaries. New unknown interests were recognized in the Orders.

Under such circumstances, the inactivity with which they were taxed was natural; but it also happened to be masterly. They were as contemptuous of public opinion as a crack regiment of the local paper; the loss of a few strips of Syria did not injure their self-respect. Acre was a strong bridge-head; and with a sea impassable to Saracens in their rear, and money accumulating rapidly behind that again, what more could a soldier want?

Everything has its drawbacks, however, and it is as easy to outgrow your strength as it is to resort to quack medicines to regain it. The old simple machinery which suited a few knights in a barrack was applied unchanged to three classes in a dozen kingdoms; the

office of Commander of Jerusalem remained in the Temple till the end. To make matters worse they were liable to lose, and often did lose, two-thirds of their governing class in a day on some stricken field. Nor does there seem, in spite of the yearly passages, to have been much real interchange between East and West; the European provinces were expected to send remittances, not advice, to Syria. What weighty decisions must often have had to be taken by a few veteran survivors of some Saphet or Mansourah.

The direction of these decisions seems to me predictable. Worried with business-like stipendiaries and argumentative cashiers, they must have envied the Assassins the unreason of their novices; charged with the failure of each crusade, they must have found the Papacy grow cold; receding from this centre of religious and political activity, they must have felt increased enthusiasm for their personal ends; and, full of self-glorification, they must have welcomed any doctrine that fed their vanity by suggesting a fabulous pedigree. The Jesuits ¹were only saved from such a fall in their younger days by a prescience of future usefulness. What wonder, then, if a world-worn order succumbed? and if it did, at such a date, when Bracton was accusing the Judges of arbitrary conduct, and yet importing blocks of Italian into English Law himself, how much regard for precedent would a knot of peremptory warriors show?

¹ Monarchy of the Solipses.

CHAP. IV.

The Temple's attitude to the other Orders.

*There's brother Dick to heir the land,
And Will to have the fleet's command,
And then there's Jack to whom 'twill fall
To do a stranger deed than all.*

(PROVERBIAL.)

THESE three well-fed corporations behaved to each other as men originally orthodox would do; they quarrelled incessantly. If both the Temple and Hospital had a guilty ambition, they would have jumped at any chance of Union; if only the Temple, we should find studied friendship, not the local jealousies we do, which 'even lingered in the survivors of the Order. So the Teutons had a dispute with the Templars, but both Orders acted from national patriotism like honest men, not from sly motives like Heretics; it was the Emperor's party against the Pope's.

Public opinion indorsed their own estimate of each other. Both Orders which had a footing in France, were classed as joint official guardians of the crusades; both were mentioned in the same sentence as enriched with equal legacies by the same testators; both 'were rated in France at the same nominal value for contributions. The very Provincial Troubadours, 'who would have been the first to surmise a Heresy, sang of the Pilgrims' Castle as the typical centre of Christianity in Palestine.

This belief in the orthodoxy of the three Orders, was shared by their superiors. Of the 'many privileges granted them by the Papacy two hundred were exactly similar. Occasional suspicions were easily dissipated. The attack by the German Bishops, in 1308, on the Teutons, was suppressed by the Pope, and the heathen rite alleged, killing their wounded and burning the corpses, was a mere trick borrowed from their Wendish enemies; during the last war in the Balkans many Russian soldiers baptized shells in the Turkish fashion. This is corroborated by the way those knights split up at the Reformation; had there been an old-established Heresy, they would long since have been detached in feeling from the Church, and either have patronized or deserted her in a body. Again, Gregory IX. rebuked the Hospital for misconduct in A.D. 1238, but the case must have been trivial, or the farcical limit of three months would have failed for its correction.

¹ Godefroi (Buchon Series, IX.), 4921.

² Boutaric (Temps Philippe le Bel), 296.

³ Wilcke (Hist. Tempelherren, Edition 1860), II. 117.

⁴ J. Del. de Roulx (Docts. des Templiers), 8.

Their Grand Master's arrival in France after the Templars' capture, his defiant ¹bearing there, and expulsion of French knights from the Convent, is inconsistent with a bad conscience. Even the King, when at the high water mark of his wrath, only said the Hospital required reform; he wished that sublime persons should be able to inspect their internal machinery, and see what became of the money; but this was not a summons to the stake, it was only an invitation to Hari Kari. Innocent III. rebuked the Temple in 1208 for using the doctrines of devils, but that was only a text from St. Jude; and denounced them for expanding their claims beyond the letter of their privileges, but that was the regular medieval form of encroachment. Dubois ²taxed both Orders with Mala Fides, but this means fraud, not Heresy. Baluze ³thinks Philip's mind was long alienated, but his authority only shows that the Rousillon Templars had been disaffected in 1296, and this was easily overlooked. Boniface ⁴in A.D. 1297, and Benedict in 1304, repeat the wondrous tale of Papal favour; and the King in 1304 makes a special grant to them. The issue of official donations continued steady to the end.

The ranks of the donees, however, began to waver as the 13th century closed. The Hospitallers, whose property was largely sea-board, left Cyprus for Rhodes. The Teutons' lay in the rear, and they migrated. The Templars' lay furthest west of all, yet they still loitered. Why? They had been the bankers of the crusades since at least A.D. 1209, and, probably, now could not believe the hope of their gains was gone; like Hindoo tradesmen they thought to extract more money by long sitting. Meanwhile their Order had surpassed its rivals in France in territory, and religious and military grandeur, and more recently had added great financial success as well; but its moral character had not kept pace with the advance. The Hospital heard, presumably from men of its own ⁵who had joined the stronger body, that their colleagues had a secret Initiation, so scandalous ⁶that it startled even veteran soldiers of the Cross. The news soon spread largely; while the culprits' personal habits were suspected by Saracen, ⁷Jew, and Christian equally. Every one admired the victors, but who was this Nicomedes about whom the procession kept joking?

¹ Achery (Spicil. new ed.), III. 701.

² Bongars (Gesta Dei), 320.

³ Bal. (Vitæ), II. 12.

⁴ Prutz, H. G. (Maltesen Urkunden), 81.

⁵ Michelet (Procès), I. 635.

⁶ Procès, II. 153.

⁷ Godefroi, 3973.

CHAP. V.

The Statutes of the Orders.

*dann steig' ich gewaffnet hervor aus dem Grab
den Kaiser den Kaiser zu schützen.*

(HEINE.)

BENEDICT XI. declared all statutes should be remodelled every century, and no doubt constitutions that grew as fast as the knightly Orders' did, required it. Yet the trim periodically revised codes of the Teutons or Hospitallers are, in the main, identical with the old double-locked volumes handed 'by Molay to the Pope, or wrenched from Rimbaud Caron by the King's seneschal, and only now returning to the light of the nineteenth century from their shelves in the Corsini or Paris Library. Let us see if the parchments can stand the question better than their owners did?

The original Temple Rule had many absurdities pruned off it at Troyes; perhaps the meaning of two knights on one horse, a habit expressly forbidden, except when crossing a ford, to the Teutons, was given in it; but if we may judge from the few samples left—"Leo semper feriat;," "Oscula mulierum fugiantur"—the Order was founded by as crude an enthusiast as any women's college in America. St. Bernard, however, by mixing much of the Benedictine Rule with it, A.D. 1128, produced the Regula, which still survives in seventy-two sections. Then followed by degrees fifty-one sections of more practical bye-laws, ending about A.D. 1220; and then the roll repeats the old statutes with a few additions and some case law; the whole finished about A.D. 1260, while the Hospital Rule was revised (probably for a second time) in A.D. 1278, and the Teutons' in 1294. Their best friends must admit that the Templars in 1307 were in a terribly unreformed condition.

The Rules of the three Orders are specially alike in some points, which were imputed to the Temple as Heresy; none held their Chapters by day; only the saner part of the knights were ever admissible; confessions could only be made to priests of the Orders; and

¹ Las Matric (Hist. Chypre), II. 690.

no knight could be a Godfather. Some points on which they varied are to the Temple's credit; its knights were bound ¹to set a special example to the other Orders and the world, and to avoid women's society with extra zeal; they were liable to expulsion for nine offences, Hospitallers for seven, and Teutons for only five. So were other points it omitted which their contemporaries insisted on; it had no annual reading of the statutes, or provision for a culprit to appeal to them. We have here the true Templar spirit, pride valuing blind obedience, which it produced by extreme severity; the smarter the regiment the harder its officers are on each other; such a spirit would naturally feel superior to its own laws, which, ²after being first practised and then put into writing, were still changeable by the Grand Master and the Convent. They varied their early Rule at pleasure, and accepted excommunicated knights, or novices without probation. They burlesqued the letter of their statutes when they extended the order to hunt the spiritual lion into leave to hunt a natural one, and the spirit when they permitted ³fraud, if conscientious, and for the Order's benefit. Some customs they developed almost past recognition; at first boys were denied entrance, then admitted after proof, and finally all novices were proved once for all by menaces; again, they left the presence of a baby backwards, not seemingly, as Rapetti thinks, ⁴to deride the living creature just come straight from God, but so as not to fly from any unbaptized being. At last their arrogance took a more wayward turn; Our Lord and Madam St. Mary were invoked at Initiations; and at the lay Absolution in the Chapter a Mary reappeared in an ambiguous phrase; "I pray God," said the Preceptor, "to pardon you, as he did the glorious Magdalen." The Order was on the brink of Heresy.

If they did this A.D. 1220, what was likely to have been done in A.D. 1307, after eighty years of external stagnation? By that time not only had the Thief upon the Cross joined the Magdalen in the Absolution; but the Order had gone further still; even the chaplains only knew as far as their own section of the statutes, and the Grand Masters called in and burnt the commentaries upon that. The brethren, however, were not left without literary guidance; a Great Misery arrived in England from the Convent in the shape of a roll of parchment, with much writing in big letters on it; this edifying work was known as the statutes of Pilgrims' Castle.

No! say the apologists, the Order still only obeyed its ancient Rule, which contained statutes against Simony, Heresy, and Crime, and the cases annexed are its Law-report. Here comes the tug of war. Anecdotes or Diary? ⁵They were written by a mere scribe, who

¹ Chamburé-Maillard, 358.

² Wilcke, I. 443.

³ Chamburé-Maillard, 325.

⁴ Moniteur, Feb. 1st, 1854.

⁵ Chamburé-Maillard, 446.

would only know what he was told. Again, the cases were all decided in the East, and the broken sword and damaged horse case involved serious points of law. The statute against Heresy was never acted on, so the orthodoxy of the Temple must on that view have been portentous. Simony and Crime were admittedly not uncommon, yet only one case of each is reported, and about both there were special circumstances, and neither was tried in the Chapter. The idea of several Temple sages suddenly repenting of a simoniacal admission years before is grotesque; probably it was a ruse to anticipate a plot by some informers. So in the Crime case; the mutinous outbreak of the criminals must have been too notorious to conceal. We could prove this document to be acts of the executive—points of practice—blinds—leading cases—anything—more easily than establish it as the Order's Log-book. While, however, we reluctantly dismiss this evidence, we should never forget that it was produced by the poor literates, so often grumbled at for spoiling the Order. Their defence is plausible to this day.

Yet these scanty cases stopped before A.D. 1260. Development, expansion, irony, and equivocation, had successively veiled the growth of the edifice above the solid ground of orthodoxy, but at length even this last scaffolding, artificial history, came down, and to all select brethren the Temple must have stood revealed.

CHAP. VI.

France and the Papacy.

"What do you want now?" said the Fish.

"We want to be lords of the sun and moon," said the Fisherman.

"Go back," said the Fish, "to your ditch again."

(BROTHERS GRIMM.)

THEOBALD MONNEGANDI¹ fled from Acre during the night of May 19th, A.D. 1290. With his galleys there disappeared not only the last hope of the rescue of the Holy Land, but also of the ultimate triumph of Christianity; no form of that religion has since given the least sign of combining beneficence and logic sufficiently to win the obedience of the conquering powers of this world.

A great event is not likely to have a trivial result. The failure of an ideal or the destruction of an authority is like the death of a man; twenty forces, lately controlled by the central one, break out at once into independent action, all energetic and all second rate. The Kings must have felt delighted the long Eastern campaigns were over; the Pope keen to re-establish his shaken position as Generalissimo of the crusades.

The main factors in European politics at this date proved to be Philippe le Bel and Boniface VIII. The King "was tall, proud of his good looks and his children, and silently contemptuous, with that fixed stare Heine ascribes to Napoleon and the Gods, Guillim to peers and frogs; these are signs of a self-regarding but not ignoble character. He was full of projects, every one of which he thought necessarily beneficial to his kingdom, and pressed with a zeal at once egotistic and religious; such a leader in a rude age was sure to have followers. But whilst he liked representing, he hated imitating St. Louis; he had always lived on good terms with the Papacy, and expected it to be as enthusiastic for him as it had been for his grandfather, though he preferred enlarging France to dying at a great expense in Egypt.

The Pope was an older man, and had no personal interests to serve; but he was also a more sophisticated ruler, and could distinguish between himself and his office. Rome had beaten the Empire, and, like other successful rebels, was more in love with the status quo than the rightful Government would have been. She had patronized the crusades, and regarded all other wars, except the half-holy ones for her or against the Empire in Sicily, as a waste of good enthusiasm.

¹ Procès, I. 646.

² Dupuy (Brussels Edition, 1751), 236—240; Dupuy (Differend), 641.

The Papacy, with the natural frailty of humanity, prefers other trades to its own, and is as fond of the Temporal Power as a sailor of a carriage.

The King was anxious the useless quarrel between himself and England should be composed, and the Pope was anxious to compose it, expecting to increase his own authority by thus reconciling two Christian powers. He also ¹thought Philip had too much land already, and disliked his growing friendship with the Emperor Albert, whom he himself would only style Duke of Austria; and he hoped to put all these matters right by playing the arbitrator. The Papal award was made in A.D. 1298; and by one of its terms the Count of Flanders was surrendered to Philip; but the King made an unwelcome use of the truce he thus obtained, and at once began forming an alliance with Albert; the protector of a national Church made friends with an hereditary enemy of the centralized one and its bodyguard. Boniface's two-sword performance at Rome, A.D. 1300, was a mandarin-like parry of this home-thrust. For the quarrel that ensued he invented four pretexts; protected the Empire against the Emperor; picked ²a quarrel with the King over a rude message; ³spoilt a judicious letter from Rome by enclosing an unofficial rebuke with it; and, contrary to the spirit of his own award, sent the Bishop of Pamiers to support the Count of Flanders. The King imprisoned him, and the three years' difference broke out.

Boniface declared he would gladly die to crush a confederation so dangerous to France; the occasion was no doubt important, and his wrath, though a little simulated at times, turned to genuine fury as he watched a dark satellite called Nogaret grow bright in Royal favour at Paris. His Guelphic disposition was further exasperated by the slightness of his hold on the Temporal Power; he pelted the King with *Ausculda Fili's* and *Unam sanctam's*, like a burglar on the house-top throwing tiles at the police. How wrong he was is shown by the list of Bulls Benedict cancelled directly after his death; how wrong Philip, by the scandal his agent's outrage at Anagni caused.

In fact, both parties had exceeded their legal rights. Civilization filters downwards, and if we would understand the wisdom of our ancestors we should watch the vulgarity of our contemporaries. Last week I heard in company with a neighbour cross-summonses between two of our farmers; each had unlawfully prevented the other committing a trespass about a water-course, and they then made a joint assault on a somewhat supercilious bystander. The cases were dismissed, but I thought to myself, "How like the first was to La Grande Differend entre Philippe le Roy et le Pape Boniface, and the second to La Condemnation des Templiers!"

¹ K. van Lettenhooven (Migne, *Patrolog.* 185), pp. 1870, 1886, 1887, 1895, 1901; *Differend*, 334, 341.

² *Ibid.* 253.

³ *Ibid.* 74.

CHAP. VII.

Motives that did not lead the King to accuse the Templars.

*The musquet and the coystrel were too weak,
Too fierce the falcon.*

(DRYDEN.)

AFTER Boniface's death in October, 1303, Benedict XI. was at once elected by the anti-French cardinals. He died in September, 1304; opportunely for the King, though Italy no doubt grew the fatal fig; the Mother of Poisons can at least claim that honour. After nine months' intrigue Clement V. was elected in June, 1305, and the King at once beset him with accusations against the Temple. Why?

Hopeless to ask! says Boutaric. The whole thing is a mystery of iniquity. Yet the real grounds of other quarrels of the King's have been inferred from coincidences, why not this one also? The feud cannot have been of old standing, or Philip would have recited the fact in his documents as a proof of his long-suffering, as he did in Boniface's case. To approximate more nearly, let us first argue back from the date of caption; the King captured the Bishop of Pamiers in July, 1301; Boniface October, 1303; the Templars October, 1307. Secondly, from the date of commencement of Trial; the inquiry against the Bishop of Pamiers began January, 1301; against Boniface, March, 1303; against the Templars, about 1306. His quarrel with the Bishop of Pamiers had been about June, 1300; with Boniface say 1299, and he avowedly nursed that some time; any delay of three years then was long in the Royal counsels; we cannot put the Temple quarrel before 1304. Another test is, How mature were the actions? In Boniface's case Philip put forward a denouncer, Nogaret, at once when he was convinced himself, after March, 1303; in the Temple case W. Plasian only appeared in May, 1308; again at Lyons in November, 1305, the King denounced Boniface's Memory formally, the Temple only informally; this shows the affair was less ripe. A fourth is his employment of the Inquisitor; before any complaint was perfect the King's conscience had to be informed; in Boniface's case¹ this was about 1300; in the Bishop of Pamiers' case

¹ Differend, 349.

about the same time; in the Temple ¹case about October, 1306. This draws the date somewhat forward. Does the possibility the King was waiting for a French Pope to arise push it back? The King ²says no; the discovery of the Heresy and Clement's election were fortunate coincidences. Elsewhere he says ³he employed his peace from worldly enemies in attacking spiritual ones; but before Mont Puel was won in October, 1304, he could not say there was peace. Again, he granted the Order a license for Mortmain in October, 1304; does this prove that the parties were then friends? Such an argument assumes he would not traffic with persons whom he meant to punish. Benedict had confirmed their privileges, and he may have been unwilling to be outbidden by a Pope, or he may have thought the eve of a prosecution a good time to raise a loan, for which they would naturally require an equivalent. Neither plan would shock a monarch ⁴who, at a time when usury was quite as wicked as Heresy, ordered his bailiffs to levy on some notorious usurers for two-fifths of their income, unless they could first by smooth conduct be enticed into making a still larger loan. It looks then as if the King's justice followed his quarrels speedily; that a prosecution of the Temple was started shortly before Clement's election, but only put into form and evidence regularly collected afterwards; and that the quarrel arose about June, 1304.

What motives would be strong at such a date? Had the Templars espoused Boniface's cause? He had attempted the unpopular reform called Union upon them; while a French Templar and Hospitaller had signed the King's appeal, seemingly as agents for the Orders. Had they ⁵subsidized the Pope? It was said so after the event, but it seems a mere popular charge like Saracenizing, and may be set off against the other accusation, that Boniface had plundered the Orders; besides, so many influential classes were on the Pope's side that a proscription once begun would have gone further; the Hospitallers, Minorites, and Cistercians should all have fallen. They ⁶had bought too much land in France lately? If this were the King's real reason he would never have allowed the same lands to be re-granted to the Hospital, or tried to create a new Order. They had protected the King from a mob, and he saw how strong they were? But that was in 1306; besides, a monarch so accustomed to pervade France need not have thrust himself into Paris; he clearly went there for curiosity.

The King coveted their gold? A strong case can be made for this. Beaten at Courtrai, he was raising money at all hazards, even ⁷illegally.

¹ Procès, I. 553.

² Rilshanger (Rolls Series XXVIII., III.), 494.

³ Notices et Extraits de l'Académie des Inscriptions, XX. 174.

⁴ Ibid. 153.

⁵ Différend, 342, 529.

⁶ Dupuy (1st edition), 94; Raynouard (Monumens du Temple), 7.

⁷ Boutaric, 268, 299, 332.

“Raise the Maltote,” writes he, “even within the Barons’ jurisdictions. Do not suggest to the vassals they are exempt; send me the names of refusers, and I will treat them with fine words and get the cash out of them without scandal.” Protests of poverty were no good. “I know you have it and shall hold you a traitor if you fail me.” Concessions or threats were used to all manner of men, merchants, Heretics, clerks, Bishops, Jews, and feudal lords, but especially to his own dependants, those nearest and closest to himself. “Whoever declines I regard as a false friend and traitor.” And all this time the Templars held some of the ¹best posts in his kingdom, followed his Court about, educated his children, and handled his finances, while he knew they were taxed with being fraudulent trustees, detainers of a fund whose consideration had failed, defaulters who caused danger and expense to the Crown, and who refused to declare their annual balances. All this suggests avarice, and Clement denied it; what further evidence can be wanted? Those who write thus, however, appear to undervalue three facts; France was drained almost as badly by the Hospital; the Templars did lend to the King for his daughters’ dowry; and their main treasure was safe in Cyprus.

¹ Rilshanger, 492; Dupuy, 237.

CHAP. VIII.

A motive that perhaps did lead the King.

The parrot screamed—the Palace clackt.(TENNYSON.)

BEFORE guessing further, let us re-examine the problem. Philip had represented an expansive force, Boniface a stationary one; they might have co-existed peaceably had not the Pontiff of Christendom adopted such a hot-headed policy that its hereditary Champion was forced to resent it. The quarrel then was personal, not inevitable; why did it not disappear with Boniface? Let Nogaret explain. ¹Boniface, he says, had left most religious personages still adhering to his cause and ready to injure Philip for such a horrible act as attacking the Vicar of Christ; even the King's best friends doubted if he or his minister had quite clear consciences; negligence was bad policy; something must be done for which a precedent could be found in reliable Law-books, which would prove the King's special Christianity and confound the enemy. That enemy, I suggest, was Benedict XI. and his party, and that important something, the Trial of Boniface's Memory.

No! say the objectors; the King ²thought so little of this Trial that he readily surrendered it to obtain the destruction of the Templars, which he valued above all earthly things. This phrase, however, should be quoted cautiously; the evidence points to Boniface's Trial having been the more important originally. The King necessarily had to appeal to a Council against him during his life, and renewed the demand before Benedict and Clement, once at Lyons, twice at Poitiers, and finally at Avignon, producing grave and sublime individuals, his Privy Council in fact, as the denouncers; but the Temple was denounced vaguely and unofficially, ³by men of small standing, and only to Clement. Again, the Pope tried to cut short the Boniface affair, even in 1305, by a private arrangement, but the King refused, though he allowed him to attempt to reform the Templars in 1306. Again, Philip took a straight course at Boniface, while he

¹ Not. et Extraits, XX. 151.

² Dupuy, 360—363; Differend, 298.

³ Dupuy, 197; Rilshanger, 492; "Deservientium," being a misprint for "denunciantium."

admits being ¹tentative about the Templars. Finally, Clement decided to try the knights himself, in August 1307, and writes as if the King had never forbidden it; but he had in Boniface's case. By 1308, it is true, the Templars' Trial was the sole object of the States General; it had grown the more pressing then, but so did everything in which the King was at all thwarted; the restoration of William of Paris, the pardon of Nogaret, the conquest of Flanders, were in turns the dearest wish of his heart. Besides, Molay had then long since arrived in Paris, the prospect of conviction of the Order had brightened, and the danger of stopping short had increased, while the utility of condemning Boniface's Memory had decreased. In short, the Election of Clement had exalted the French monarchy so high, that in 1311 it could afford to drop a plan which in 1304 it deemed essential to its own existence.

But in 1304 the French monarchy was facing a hostile Papacy, and Nogaret's plan for condemning Boniface's Memory proved very serviceable. At its mere mention Benedict absolved Philip, and showered concessions upon France. Everyone got something, except the author of all these good things; his isolation grew while his Royal master's diminished, and the ²Papacy showed more than the usual Papal favour for the exempt Orders. What turn did his cogitations take? He has told us. He had many powerful enemies, and had for some time seen his way to a very ³important and strange plan, that would affect the condition of France and several other kingdoms. Still his isolation grew, and at last, June 7, Benedict turned savagely against him, and tried him in his absence for the Anagni expedition. The minister, however, was a dangerous enemy; Boniface ⁴had derided his lecture in 1300, and brought an unhonoured death upon himself; Benedict had avoided him at Perugia, and put the Memory of his predecessor in peril, and now the culprit, with a mysterious scheme already in his head, found himself in danger, both of body and soul. What did he do in this strait? Most histories assume that he remained passive, but this would not have been like him. The first steps in the Templars' Trial were taken about this date ⁵by certain detractors of the Church. Nogaret was such a detractor, an early example of that dull malice which, without objecting to any doctrine, or offering any substitute, hates the Church for being itself, and it seems likely that he here repeated for his own benefit a manœuvre he had already tested as useful for his sovereign. Benedict died within the week, he says, or he would have tried him; what more probable, then, than that he should attack some of the Papal auxiliaries instead? In making his selection he would obviously be guided by popular

¹ Dupuy, 198—perhaps Baluze, II. 76—90.

² Ibid. 440.

³ Not. et Extraits, XX. 151.

⁴ Differend, 314.

⁵ Procès, I. 168.

suspicion, the approval of the French Bishops, and facility of proof; while every maxim of policy would suggest the Temple as his most lucrative victim.

While this scheme was maturing Nogaret had grown rich. In ¹March, 1303, just when Boniface was being attacked, he received a pension of 300 livres, and now at Beziers, in February, 1304, he received a second one of 500. If this was a retaining fee for prosecuting the Temple, he soon had an opportunity to collect evidence. On Ash Wednesday, at the same place, he and three others received authority to release prisoners of whatever status, lay or ecclesiastic, they might be, from the Royal jails. M. Boutaric thinks this was a common form for raising money; if so, why are there no other samples of such a usual document in the Trésor des Chartes? Six months later Nogaret ²was boasting that he had begun and would continue a law suit that would strike terror into the King's enemies, and about the same time two apostate Templars, Squin and Noffodei, presumably knight and squire—the Templars always worked in couples—were extracted from the prison at Tholouse, near Beziers, with a curious story in their mouths.

¹ Not. et Extraits, XX. 153; Ménard (Hist. Nismes), I. Pt. II. 146, 148.

² Differend, 274.

CHAP. IX.

The state of France at that date.

Φύλαξ ἐλέγχων φύλακα.
(SOPHOCLES.)

THIS story was too opportune to be genuine, say the apologists; the King had an indictment ready the moment he quarrelled with any one, just as Boniface had for Albert and the King of the Romans. But suppose that heterodoxy was so widespread that he could have indicted his friends as well had he chosen to?

The lower orders of Western Europe were at this date substantially orthodox. Manicheism is not really a case to the contrary; its was no conquering force certain to break out along the line of least resistance; its ritual was mean, its asceticism ghastly, and its metaphysic rightly labelled by a Pope as absurd. True, the spirit of secrecy and contradiction endeared it to all vulgar souls, and the local nobles patronized it, but that was through proximity, just as they would have drunk the wine of the country; and it really flourished, not wherever vulgarity existed, but where the traditions of Roman Law did. There is always some mischief to be done by those who live under a better constitution than they deserve. Where the more suitable ideas of Feudalism were strong, men felt their respective positions too accurately mapped out to have room for playing the Heresiarch.

Witchcraft, however, was frequent in all ranks; children's fortunes were told, quarrels excited between man and wife, secret thefts discovered, and lead and waxen images baptized by its professors. It was one side of the central mediæval belief that there is an external Spirit which can be set in motion by man; even those who denied the orthodox form of this notion, did so on unscientific grounds, from temper or self-importance, and hence only believed the more in the illicit form which should have been discarded with it. Charges of sorcery were often added in a trial, and increased the prejudice against the prisoner. Some argue they were therefore false; but I should rather infer that a cult so widely feared would be equally widely practised.

The great ones of the earth went further still. That century was a time for growth; Architecture, Heraldry, and Law developed as rapidly as the power of King, Knight, or Inquisitor. Each corporation had rules which were too newly framed not to be expandible, a

domestic tribunal which defined them, and no superior authority which could check the incessant conflict of jurisdictions; such uncontrolled power naturally breeds arrogance. It is harder however to divert a system than a man from its natural aim, and we must expect to find personal atheism, or the secret practices of accomplices, in high places, but not proselytism.

There is nothing, then, improbable in the King's lawyers finding plenty of genuine materials for their State Trials. Their master's attitude, too, is not that of a fabricator; every offence that annoyed him became heretical at once, but that view was largely fostered by the metaphysic of the period. Besides, there was no stereotyped form of indictment, Pamiers' treason, Boniface's voices, the Hospitallers' frauds, Clement's nepotism, and the fallen Marigny's sorcery, all show a reasonable variety, and many of the charges are not seriously denied by historians. In fact, to use a phrase familiar to me once, before I was forced into literature by pecuniary calamities, the neck was ready wherever it was wanted.

But unless these charges were all false, we should not disbelieve off-hand the additions to the Temple Rule with which the knights were taxed as soon as they had given offence. Philip did not; he at once held a meeting, November, 1305, with the new Pope Clement at Lyons, and informed him that the Temple Preceptors habitually committed Crime, made wrongful Acquisitions, and received their novices in a blasphemous manner, suggesting that the ¹Order should be expelled from France, and should only be paid such part of their revenues as they earned by keeping soldiers in the field; at the same time, he revived the demand for a Trial of Boniface's Memory. These were two startling requests, and seem to have been mainly made to accelerate the revocation of all Papal Bulls that still affected France; this was their original purpose, and when this was obtained, Philip acquiesced ²in Clement's entreaty that both Trials should stand over. He refused, however, to discourage further revelations in either matter, or to allow Boniface's Memory to be inquired into unofficially; his own reputation was at stake, and he foresaw the inevitable result of such an inquiry. However, he permitted a private treatment of the Temple, thinking less of Nogaret apparently than himself; and accordingly, in June, 1306, Clement summoned the Grand Masters of the only two Orders that were vulnerable in France to cross the sea with small retinues, and discuss with him a new crusade and the Union of the Temple and the Hospital.

¹ Dupuy, 182, 234; Not. et Extraits, XX. 201.

² Inferred from Dupuy, 362.

CHAP. X.

The Templars in Cyprus.

*Oh what is this that's sent us ? A vision dim, portentous,
A mystic solemn signal, to help us or to hurt !*

(C. ROSSETTI.)

WHEN a calf is turned from its dark winter-house for the first time into a sun-lit meadow, its movements are apt to be vague, and when a knightly Order, accustomed to a lonely sovereignty on the slopes of Carmel, suddenly found itself jostled by the conflicting jurisdictions of a petty kingdom like Cyprus, we need hardly expect to find it had any very settled purpose. That island was liable to capture, and their residence there had been approved by Boniface as strategically useful, but he foresaw their possible departure, which the migrations of the other Orders and the return of their own raiders from Macedon to France in 1305—the Eubœan epitaph in the Middle Temple was perhaps part of the booty—daily made more probable.

But why migrate to France when they did move ? Storm-birds preceded their arrival. Molay¹ was in Europe soon after his institution, while H. Perald² visited England in 1299, 1302, and 1304, remaining in France the alternate years of 1300 and 1303, but traversing Germany afterwards. H. Blanch, who had been Preceptor of Auvergne for at least fifteen years, lived mainly in the Levant; but he was at Clermont in 1300 and 1303, and Beziers in 1304, though he took little part in the work of the Western Templars, went off on the Macedon raid, and seems only to have finally returned to France with the Convent. This movement, moreover, was naturally the work of the Eastern Templars, with whom lay the right of decision ; nor can their Western brethren have cared to have the embarrassing presence of unwonted superiors thrust upon them. How came these veteran knights to be less scrupulous than the Teutons, who had heathen to conquer at home, or the Hospitallers, who scouted the proposal to fall back on Italy ? They jumped at the Papal summons as a reason for coming permanently to France. What made an Order so rich in works of supererogation commit an act of spiritual bankruptcy ?

Common opinion says the Grand Master came in menace to the King. The other Orders migrated to rude countries and became independent, therefore this one migrating to civilized France meant to do the same. The evidence, however, is the other way. Was his mere restlessness aggression ? If the hope of a better billet in the next town, and a standing feud between the first and second in command are signs of aggression, there has been danger in each drum that ever beat a march from country quarters. He brought

¹ Wilcke, I. 330, 334 ; Procès, I. 629.

² Exchequer Rolls from Remembrancer's Office, 171, 174, 185.

much treasure, and that was aggressive? Leaving little in Cyprus proves he was unlikely to return; but the possession of wealth proves his views were pacific; diplomacy was expensive in those days; Philip, who really did intrigue, always had an empty purse, while Molay¹ declined to give the Cardinals even their usual acknowledgments, and asserted that he could hardly preserve the Order from its European enemies.

He seems really to have come in menace to the Pope. He cannot then have been conscious of a newly-adopted Heresy; but if there were an inveterate abuse in the Order past disentanglement, he may have been reckless through long impunity. He declared himself that he had a precedent, and wished to crush Clement's stock suggestion of Union by adding an assembly of the Order to the stock resource of an assembly of the Convent. To this motive we may add conjecturally that he wished to keep his headquarters as far apart from the Hospital's as possible, and secure himself against Rome in a kingdom where the Order was strong and Papal influence weak.

But if the Pope's summons was so distasteful, why did Molay obey it with such premeditated alacrity? He seems to have been awaiting an excuse for migration so as to protect the Temple against some anticipated dangers. One such danger was confiscation; Cyprus might be lost to them at any moment as Sicily had been, and Molay only followed L. Belna's example in retiring to France. Another danger was pilfering; Edward I. had stopped their remittances from England as Philip had from France; even now they² were eternally liable to the same jealous supervision the Hospital had to endure in 1309; if their income was thus hindered in coming to them, what wonder if they came to their income, and, by slipping under Philip's guard, thought they would be safe from the arm-length blows, which they could not believe he aimed seriously at St. Louis's protégés? Another danger was mutiny. The Convent had no crusade to prepare for, so they naturally turned their fussy eyes to long-neglected duties, and began to look after their Western provinces; there they found discipline confused after Acre; H. Perald, an avowed rival of Molay's, and the younger brethren, preferring to live like gentlemen at home rather than work for the Holy Land like saints.

In selecting France, then, as a spot whence to direct future crusades at their ease, they pursued an old but unaggressive policy. Only, instead of marshalling the Order round the Convent, as in happier times, the Convent returned to merge itself in the Order's main province. A man, however, who always cites a conventional friend in his squabbles with a real patron, is apt to be disappointed when he at length puts this vaunted protection to the test. This was the figure the Grand Master cut when he declined to take the Pope's hint, and about December, 1306, brought most of the Convent and all the treasure to Paris.

¹ Las Matrie, II. 690.

² Achery, III. 701.

CHAP. XI.

The Templars in France.

*The Chief's eye flashed, his plans
Soared up once more, like fire.*

(BROWNING.)

THE King had Squin's and Noffodei's formal Denunciation ready, apparently, two years before this, but even now he approached the Temple as cautiously as a boy with a tar can does a wasp's nest. He 'admits his policy fluctuated, and as in February, 1307, the Pope had consented to a personal interview at Poitiers that summer, he postponed all comments until then, but he must have watched the Temple treasure crossing his poverty-stricken kingdom with the feelings of a Bedouin, and all this time he kept his Inquisitor steadily at work collecting evidence.

Meantime, the Pope, about January, broached in writing with Molay the question of the Holy Land, and, as incidental to it, the union of the two Western Orders, and the allowing the new body only its working expenses. The Grand Master replied, the Temple could only just pay its way as it was; that competition was good; and only a Grand Crusade (which was unlikely to occur) would be any use. There is not a sign here that Heresy was even alluded to, but the Grand Master seems to have become nervous at the personal turn the question was taking, and the fact that the King was intervening, and with the off-handedness of a new inspector, and the testiness of a coward, he ordered 'one of his treasurers to call in a loan the French Templars had made to Philip, and burnt the letter Clement was induced to write for the restoration of the loan-monger.

Still the King retained his character for silence; but he had his Inquisitor's witnesses safe under lock and key at Corbeil, and must have rejoiced when May arrived, and he could speak face to face with the Pope at Poitiers. The French monarchy had now regained all its lost ground, yet Philip pressed the cases of Boniface and the Templars as hotly as before, feeling the old zeal, but forgetting it had not originally been prompted by righteous indignation; the stalking-horses had now been turned to hobbies. He could hardly expect to secure both his aims at once; the practical benefit of condemning Boniface's Memory was growing vague, and when the Pope adroitly quoted the concession Philip had already made about a new crusade, as a reason for delay, the King acquiesced; but the Templars' treasure was now within his reach; the vague benefit of their Trial had become practical, so against them fresh evidence was adduced to the Pope.

¹ V. sup. p. 18.

² Las Matrie, II. 690.

The pressure was becoming more severe, and the Pope had to take a further step. He made the Templars take it for him; the Heads of the Order appeared at his Court about July, and said they had discovered the King was accusing them of Heresy, declared that the charges were false, and demanded a trial, seemingly only of their officials, like the Teutons in the next year, before the Papal Court. To aid this, they handed in a copy of their Rule, and Molay went even further; he 'admitted the power of Absolution the statutes allowed the Grand Master in breaches of the Rule had been extended in practice to cases of sin. A raven emerged from the ark of Temple secrecy.

This demand for a trial is looked on by some as arrogance, by some as innocence; to me it appears a mere scheme, concocted partly to weaken the King's attack upon Boniface by an indirect concession, partly to strengthen the Pope's jurisdiction by an apparent appeal to it, a repetition of the device of 1306. The suggestion of Union had damped down the smouldering question of Temple orthodoxy for twelve months; it had since become a burning one, but this Papal intervention was to extinguish the flame for ever.

The Grand Master returned with much ceremony to Paris; his whole demeanour was a mixture of self-dependence, and ignorance of European politics. The Pope, meanwhile, naturally would not admit the weakness of the Papacy even to himself; he took leave of the Preceptors, little guessing he was parting with his favoured soldiers for the last time, and wrote to the King, on August 24th, to say he would personally try the Order in a few days.

This word "few" seems to have brought down the avalanche. Philip had now changed his truce with Edward I. to a peace with Edward II., and had idle hands and an empty purse; Clement's Trial, too, would have been not a mere *primâ facie* inquiry, like that about Boniface's witnesses, but a final decision, sure to be in favour of Temple orthodoxy. All things were now ready; the century of fictitious energy, and pride neglectful of its origin, had run down to weeks. On receipt of the Pope's letter the King wavered no longer, but handed the seals on 13th September to his best gladiator, Nogaret. The Templar security must before this have changed to that sickening sense of uncertainty, for which living it down seems the only remedy; but about this date the uncertainty disappeared, and they 'attempted to fly from Paris. On October 7th, H. Perald ³went to Poitiers, where the Pope seems to have pressed him to say how matters really stood, and to have heard a partial confession, while the Grand Master, on the other hand, was so wilful that he frightened his own followers. On October 10th, Gerard Villars, Preceptor of France, deserted the Order, and by noon on the 13th, all the other Preceptors and most of the French brethren were the King's prisoners.

¹ Loiseleur, 180.

² Dupuy, 1st edition, 79.

³ Procès, I. 29, 458; II. 373.

CHAP. XII.

The Templars in Prison.

Je suis moins heureux, mais j'en connais plus long.

(A. DUMAS, jun.)

DANTE sneered at the Templars' caption as an unforeseen and outrageous illegality, but 'even their rank and file knew it three days beforehand, and believed it to be a mere temporary measure. It was no worse than the caption of the Bishop of Pamiers, but still irregular, as, strictly, the King had power only over the goods of even lay Heretics, and the Templar status, though ambiguous, was, on the whole, clerical.

Since this arbitrary action was produced by a wish to grasp the Temple treasure, and to anticipate the Papal inquiry, it is obvious only half the battle was won unless Philip substituted a Trial of his own. This he did in a mode that attempted beforehand to avoid the objections the University took six months later; the King's officers were ordered to seize the knights and secure them for the Church to try; but a memorandum added they should first examine the prisoners themselves, and then invite the Dominicans to hear the confessions repeated; the result of this order being the scanty depositions in the Trésor des Chartes. ³Besides these, all Archbishops and Bishops in the kingdom seem to have heard many more in Processes which should still exist; the Nismes one was dated April, 1308. This earliest inquiry, then, was neither Papal nor Royal, but largely Ecclesiastical.

These French examiners eagerly broached a mess so palatable to the French monarchy, and by October 19th the song of the captives was already audible; the communicativeness of the Western party being in marked contrast to the grudging evidence of the Eastern. Their reticence, however, was useless; the Grand Master, partly repeating his June manœuvre, partly listening to the false counsellors who surrounded him, confessed the principal charge on Oct. 24, and sent a circular round all the gaols of Paris, exhorting his brethren to admit the same as he did, and palliate it as an old abuse in the Order.

Meanwhile the Pope, from the moment he heard of the caption, saw that a dangerous precedent had been made, and attempted to restore the Trial to the track whence Philip had dragged it. On Oct. 27 he announced he would send his two usual Cardinals to take possession of the prisoners and their goods, and suspended the Inquisitors and the Bishops. Temporary suspension had often taken place before; once at the King's instance at Carcassonne ⁴in 1306, but after this it was

¹ Procès I. 387, 554. ² "Templaria" (passim). ³ Dupuy, 268; Menard, 181.

⁴ A. Molinier (Hist. Inquisition dans le Midi), 219.

never relaxed till the Bishops had been appointed permanent coadjutors with the Inquisitors; the Dominicans ¹found the rule intolerable; its severity shows how angry Clement must have been at the caption of the Templars. The suspended prelates replied, that their promptitude was necessary, otherwise the many adherents of the Temple, and the publicity of the scandal, would have upset Christianity throughout France; this reads like the mere enthusiasm of men accidentally employed to do work more important than they were accustomed to. The King's ministers replied, that they understood the Pope had sanctioned the caption by his August letter; this assumption of a false, or denial of a real, authority, was the stock diplomatic plan of that century. The King himself replied, that the mere rumour of the suspension was making the Templars waver in their confessions, and that Bishops were more skilful than Cardinals in such matters; he enclosed a still weightier argument, several such bulky informations he had received before the caption, and such a detailed sketch of depositions extracted since, that the Pope felt that this his first effort to re-establish himself and his friends had failed.

This judicious publicity of the King's had a further effect. The Trial Clement had contemplated in August would have been trivial; he never once alluded to a general caption among all nations, but, after reading Philip's documents and hearing a domestic (perhaps ²Cardinal Cantilupe) of his own, he felt he must shake off the slumber of negligence, and do something for his reputation's sake. The practice, however, of stipulating to accept the inevitable for a consideration, is not unfamiliar to the Papacy; he accordingly formed an agreement, apparently unwritten, with the King, and arranged that he would order the Templars to be seized all over the world, provided Philip would give the two Cardinals possession of the French prisoners and himself hold their property as trustee for the Holy Land. This agreement was published to the world in the Bull *Pastoralis*, and ratified in the letters of the 1st and 21st of December. About the end of November the King performed his part of the bargain; the Cardinals reached Paris, and were sent round the prisons there, when they showed such sympathy with the Grand Master, ³that he mistook the beginning for the end of sorrows, and sent out a second circular to his brethren—"I have revoked my confession, do you likewise." Gaol answered gaol, and their inmates boasted that Clement was at last on their side.

Thus the game was drawn, and in favour of the Pope; by his Bull in November he had committed himself to a more public Trial, and a longer list of prisoners than that proposed in his letter in August, but it was still the same formal hearing before the Roman Curia, to end in the same almost certain acquittal. The King did not view this as a Royal victory; in the very letter of December 24th, which concluded the old transaction, he hinted at a new one, demanding for the summer of 1308 a second meeting at Poitiers.

¹ B. Guidonis (Practica, ed. C. Douais), 12. ² Wilcke, II. 209. ³ Raynouard, 47.

CHAP. XIII.

The Interview at Poitiers.

*Scripture says an ending
Of all fine things must be.*

(C. KINGSLEY.)

PHILIP had at least one quality which is denied to common-place people: he could relinquish the greater duty for the lesser; his daughter's marriage to Edward II. occupied him till about Easter, April 14th, 1308, and it was only after that his wrath against the Temple revived. By a coincidence, so strange that it can only be ascribed to the incalculable independence of the literary character, P. Dubois, after a three months' rest, entered on a new epoch of creative activity at the same moment.

The States General were convoked at Tours for May 1st, a sign that an emergency was at hand; they were only summoned at four critical points of the reign. Philip's satellites proved to them that the knights were not only Heretics, but murderers, presumably of their mutinous brethren, and that the Pope's delay was therefore felonious, and a lay grievance. The States replied that the prisoners were guilty of death, and that the King should disregard precedents and try them himself. Philip had resumed possession of the prisoners after the Cardinals left Paris, and thus broken one term of the compromise; he now by this demand for a lay Trial broke another.

Backed by his staunch subjects he reached Poitiers on May 27th, bringing copies of the autumn confessions with him. This time he came in the strength of an accomplished fact, having only one motive for moderation, the wish to make Clement endorse his claim to the Imperial Crown; this was exhausted when he had permitted Clement for the third time to postpone Boniface's Trial, and his severity against the Templars proportionately increased. Pope and King at once fell into 'morose discussions about them, at first on the old points. Philip declared the Inquisitor had been duly authorized, that the early procedure was therefore valid, and that execution by the secular arm should be decreed at once. As the foreign knights had not yet been examined, this must have been an unreal maximum. So was Clement's; he replied that Rome was never in a hurry, the facts must be gone into and an answer should be given in a few days; about June 1st the answer came; the Pope demanded the possession of the prisoners and their goods by the hand of the Cardinal of Preneste. Thus he formulated his maximum and the haggling began. It ended about June 20th (?), with the secret articles which gave the Pope the formal ownership of prisoners and goods, but restored their suspended powers to Bishops and Inquisitors, and committed the Pope to deciding on the fate of the Order before he left Poitiers. This bargain was clenched by the King sending him Seventy-two sample prisoners,

who were heard by the Cardinals at the end of June, and it was announced publicly after a formal request by the French Bishops, in the Bull *Subit assidue*. Others, issued from the 5th to the 12th of July, empowered the Ecclesiastics to try all the individuals, but to leave their final sentences to the Provincial Councils that the Archbishops would convene in due course.

During the rest of July, Clement seems to have kept 'renewing his request for a private termination to Boniface's Trial, which was at first refused, but all this time the hour of the Papal departure drew nearer, and it was finally agreed that the question should be left open for a time. He bought even this small concession, however, at the expense of the Temple Order, and hung out the old signal of distress, asking at least to be allowed to hear the Grand Master and four Chief Preceptors personally, for that was a necessary part of the Process. The King sent for them from Corbeil, but declined to let them cross the French frontier, and even before they arrived at Chinon the time ran short, and the arrangement had to be completed. On August 12th, the Bull *Faciens misericordiam* was issued, proclaiming the Trial of Templars and Temple in every kingdom; then came the Bull *Regnans*, summoning an Œcumenical Council for October, 1310, to give a final judgment on Boniface's Memory, and on the Temple's orthodoxy. The appearance of the Grand Master and the officials before the three Cardinals followed on the 14th of August.

The King had really won this time. A personal Trial of the Temple by the Pope had grown more impossible at each 'fresh step as he admits, and now, at the cost of a few small concessions and of the whole future income of the Order, Philip had realized more than his original plan of September, 1307, and started a strict Trial of the whole Order, the only difference being, that he was making Clement do it instead of acting himself, and that it was not certain what the Council's verdict would be. The Pope, 'no doubt, hoped that Vienne would witness an acclaimed crusade, an acquitted Boniface, and a reformed Temple; but the King had other views, and resolved a less celestial state of things should prevail. Even before the Bull *Regnans* was published he was pressing the Pope to declare in advance that the Temple's goods should be transferred to a new French Royal Order, and the Hospital's as well; before such a prosecutor the chance of acquittal grew minute indeed.

The beaten Pontiff fled towards Avignon; it was his best move, lest a worse thing should happen to him, but he left his friends behind. Every good gift,—privilege, exemption, revenue,—had come down from the Roman Court on the knightly Orders, but the Vicegerent of the Father of Lights proved variable, and the shadow of turning had darkened all Poitiers. The last hope left to the Templars was the possibility that an Œcumenical Council might prefer words to reality, nothing would look better on the table than a pile of revoked confessions.

¹ Dupuy, 363.

² Ibid. 269.

³ Ibid. 248.

CHAP. XIV.

How the Indictment grew.

*Philoctetes scowled and cried, "O Fate,
I give thee this that thy strong man gave me!
Do with it as thou wilt, let small or great,
Even as thou wilt, before its black point be."*

(W. MORRIS.)

ON September 5th, 1308, the King's messengers returned in triumph from Poitiers, bringing with them a paper ¹list of 123 articles against the Temple which the Pope thought duly corroborated. This frail and precious cotton-wove fragment is scarcely legible; handwriting on the wall seldom is; but we must try to learn its alphabet.

Inquisition Law prescribed that the Denunciation where used must be in writing, as the base of all the proceedings. If made by one member of a corporation against another, or a prisoner against his accomplice, it was only inchoate, and must be formed into articles and further witnesses interrogated secretly upon them. The full answers in such a case were not taken down, for fear the next ²witness should give less detailed replies, and thus the concord of the depositions be spoiled. It did not then take long to get two good or three tainted witnesses to agree exactly on any given point, or for single witnesses to prove single instances of an identical heresy. Either was corroboration, and the accused might be seized and examined on all charges thus corroborated.

The King's method seems to have been much the same. Thus, in the Bishop of Pamiers' case, he received certain statements of speeches made by the Bishop, in seven articles. He then sent two Commissioners to inform his conscience; they called twenty-four witnesses, who confirmed the original articles, their own evidence, and each added some more; these additions, being only half proved disappear further on, but the Bishop was arrested on this. Then the King personally examined the same witnesses on eight new articles, and thus got graver and more serious charges than ever against him. Taken even as it is here, where we can inspect the maximum, the uncorroborated statements, the mediæval Process was a mighty engine

¹ Not. et Extr. XX. 193; "concordatos." Michelet (Hist. France), IV. 77.

² B. Guidonis, 243.

for obscuring the truth; how much more when we can only see the minimum, the artistically abstracted articles?

The Temple case, too, must have presented peculiar difficulties even to the experts of that day. The Bulls speak apparently as if the Pope had heard as fully of the Idol and Heresy in November, 1305, as he certainly had in August, 1307; but they are contradicted by all the other documents, and their recitals are only really meant to show that all formal preliminaries have been complied with, that presumptions of orthodoxy have been rebutted, and a bad repute acquired by the Order; they are not meant for a narrative of how the Indictment grew.

The original Denunciation¹ by Squin occurred, we have seen, about June, 1304. It is the hypercritical list of an angry man, still it shows that there were many offences committed behind a veil of external orthodoxy. Sworn by merely two prisoners it would require corroboration, and this seems the reason why the suspicious institution of the Grand Masters, which is proved by no one else, disappears from the future indictment.

Denunciation.

1. Novices swear to Acquire for Temple right or wrong.
2. And deny their Lord.
3. Preceptors murder mutineers, and their own bastards.
4. And are heretical inwardly.
5. And practise Crime.
6. And luxury.
7. And Saracenize.
8. Grand Masters are instituted privately, therefore heretically.
9. The system is antichristian and secret.
10. Sin for the Order's good is righteous.

Meanwhile, the original object of the Government satellites was to inculcate the Order as it existed in France. The blasphemous Initiation was specially widespread, specially the work of high Preceptors, specially capable of proof by low serving-brethren, and specially shocking to public opinion; this point, then, was specially pounced upon, and certain Templars seized, and details on this ques-

First Corroboration.

1. Denied and spat on Cross.
2. Were stripped and thrice kissed by Preceptors.
3. And permitted to practise Crime.

tion extracted. Their depositions were² compiled into three articles, seemingly, about January, 1305. They amplify the second article of the Denunciation, but are too uniform to be very reliable; they must have been a low grade set,

for they excused their Initiation on the ground they were forced to be passive in their Preceptors' hands; while they proved equally passive in their examiners'.

About this stage³ the case came to the King's ears; he considered the evidence too slight at first, but denouncers and informers multiplied, and he began to inquire seriously. At once, as if he had dug down a wall, worse abominations appeared. This phrase would

¹ Wilcke, II. 185.

² Dupuy, 199.

³ Ibid. 197.

apply exactly to the revelations abridged by Gaguin and Mezerau, and handed down at greater length by Paradin from some ¹ of the many documents his friends hunted up for him. It looks as if some caitiff knight had confessed that in his district there was kept a bearded, skin-covered skull, before which the brethren caroused.

After the Idol had thus been detected, we can, by assuming two

Second Corroboration.

1. Templars had a secret Initiation.
2. Denied Christ and spat on Cross.
3. Worshipped a jewelled and bearded skull.
4. Betrayed St. Louis and Acre.
5. And any crusaders.
6. Gave Boniface King's treasure.
7. Had permission for Crime.
8. Burnt their veterans' bones.
9. Wore girdles off the Idol.
10. Roasted their bastards.
11. Avoided baptisms and churchings.

low-grade Templars to have added to their original deposition in three articles, new details of receiving an Idol girdle, and by remembering that a single phrase in any new deposition might at once establish a charge that had remained unarticled because uncorroborated previously, find a possible source for each of the eleven articles in the Chronicle St. Denys; they seem to have been later than the first disclosure to Clement, for he kept hearing more and more, but this was about the fullest

he ever did hear. The date of this list, then, we are entitled to place not earlier than the beginning of 1306.

The King after these discoveries took a fresh step; he ordered ²his Inquisitors to seize in one day all over France sample Templars of all nations, presumably apostates of low rank, whose seclusion would

Third Corroboration.

1. Initiation secret—they denied the Prophet.
2. Spat on the Cross.
3. Stripped and thrice kissed by Preceptor.
4. Permitted to practise Crime.
5. Wore girdles off their Idols.
6. Worshipped a bearded head in Chapter.
7. Priests did not consecrate.

not be noticed. Apparently this was not to gain more information, but to extend the area of guilt. Hence the seven new articles are pretty much the early three articles, with the Idolatry from the Chronicle St. Denys, over again. This shows the answers were largely mere affirmations, only enlarging the old by giving new names of Preceptors. However,

so many plucked up heart to deny the Idol, that later Inquisitors were cautioned, that it was no use asking any but the veterans about it.

These seven articles were used during the autumn Trial of 1307, and also, to judge from the answers, by the Cardinals who heard the Seventy-two, and the five Preceptors in the summer of 1308. During 1307 W. of Paris also collected many witnesses, R. Praellis seems to have been one, to prove the bad repute of the Order, in case presumably the Denunciation failed, and he had to proceed *viâ officii*; much about the secrecy of the Chapters, and the guards on the roof, may well have come from these laymen. By September in that year the Pope had heard strange additions to the story; these, I conjecture, were

¹ Paradin (Hist. Savoy, 2nd edition), Introduction.

² Rilshanger, 492; Procès, I. 168.

the enlarged account of the Idol, how a Cat accompanied it, and it was hailed as the Gold-finder and Crop-giver to the Order. At all events, after this date the stream of revelation seems to have run low, and most of the materials from which the Pope drafted the Indictment in 1308 to have been cut and dried for at least a twelvemonth.

A few, however, were more recent. The records of the French Trials in November, 1307, must have been inadmissible; if not, H. Perald's account of the Idol would surely have been inserted. There are, however, additions, which apparently were made from the interrogatory of the Seventy-two; the Denial assumes varying forms, an active Kiss is added to the earlier passive one, and after the evidence of Déodat Jafet, R. Massal, St. Trobat, and R. Stephani, the bearded skull receives a single and a triple companion.

Nothing more was known, but a vast parade is made of any fact which covered a weak point in the attack. Thus, a chance admission of the Pope's domestic is expanded in articles 73—76 into quite a sweeping charge against the whole Order in Cyprus. The separation, too, of the Cat from the Idol, and the preciseness of the latter's attributes, are seen, when compared with the simpler version of the articles in the Bull *Regnans*, to be unwarranted. Loiseleur thinks the Pope knew more than he allowed to be asked; but the phrase "*subticemus ad præsens*" only refers to the Idolatry confessed by three of the five Chief Preceptors. The Indictment leaves the impression on my mind that the authorities article all they knew, omitting and inventing nothing, but that they knew very little. Did their victims enlighten them at all?

CHAP. XV.

How the Trials commenced.

*Question fierce and proud reply
Gave signal soon for dire debate.*

(W. SCOTT.)

CLEMENT left Poitiers and the Templars in August, 1308, promising ¹to be at Avignon by January, 1309, and there to undertake a public inquiry against Boniface's Memory. The Papacy and the weather, however, are old friends, and the snow blocked the roads so much that his journey was not completed until Easter, 1309. Meanwhile the French Bishops had been trying away at individual Templars who had survived the Inquisitors' treatment merrily enough for nearly a year; but the French statesmen were less comfortable; Nogaret, in particular, must have felt like Damocles, and so R. Supino was despatched in April to test the Pope's attitude. The sword proved to be still in the air, the inquirer barely escaped with his life, and the minister had to start anew his well-worn machinery of Royal pressure. Philip was already angry he had not been elected Emperor in the past year, and began handling the Pope so roughly that by September, 1309, he had not only ordered the Trial of Boniface's Memory to begin in Lent, 1310, but had been forced to begin the Trial of the Temple Order at once.

This Trial, like that of the Persons, began sooner in France than elsewhere. The Commissioners had been nominated as early as May, 1309, and they opened their court formally at Paris in August, 1309. Their President, the Archbishop of Narbonne, was ²in favour of speed, yet the real sittings only began April 11th, 1310, six months later than the English ones; the Bishops' officers would not transmit the prisoners he cited to defend the Order until their own inquiry was over. Why were not Order and Persons tried simultaneously in Paris as elsewhere? Michelet thinks Philip would only produce the Templars when Clement would hear the witnesses against Boniface; but the Pope would gladly have dropped either or both Trials. The real reason seems to have been, that in other countries the Order was only tried nominally, being only present in them nominally; but in France its champions were allowed to appear, and the prisons there swarmed with captives eager to deny collectively in town the guilt they had admitted singly in the country. Thus friction arose between

¹ Differend, 290.² Rilshanger, 495.

the French Bishops, who specially hated the Temple, and the Papal Commission, which seemed specially likely to befriend it.

The prisoners' elected spokesmen put forward various defences, J. Penet's being the best ; but even he argues under the real case. Their first contention was, "We showed prowess, and associated with our oblates" ; but the charge had been, that in spite of public sanctity, they kept up a private Heresy. A second was, "Produce R. Vassinhac and A. Valincourt, noble knights who will testify in our favour" ; this was an attempt to intimidate or discredit prominent witnesses for the prosecution, and was also applied to the officials who got up the case, Squin the denouncer, W. Roberts the clerical torturer, B. Pelet the Prior of Poissy, and ¹Gerard Boyzol one of the King's 100 knights. A third was, "Our gaolers ill-treat us" ; the muster at Paris of course had crowded the prisons, but the inmates were bold and turbulent, and revoked their confessions with so much levity that they cannot have been much cowed ; besides, their four deniers a day were more than the average ²allowance, which was three ; Molay ³had gold and silver at his death, and the piteous appeal of P. Cortempele was only a story of temporary inconvenience drafted by some business-like Templar, whose arithmetical soul was vexed by Metropolitan prices. A fourth was, "There have been death-bed retractions by Templars who had confessed" ; but 'the King had received some death-bed confessions that were never retracted ; besides, the priests had been directed to worry the sick prisoners, and no historian puts the Templars' orthodoxy very high : ⁴the corpse has no more soul than a dog, they used to say, and the viaticum is no use. Their repentance then can scarcely have been more than mere sorrow at detection. If they were thus diplomatic during life, why should they have turned superstitious at its end ? They could not re-live the old days more thoroughly than by dying game. This defence impressed the Commission more than it need us. The fifth, made impliedly by the Grand Master and P. de Bononia, deserves more though it received less attention. "The Order is as efficient as ever. Those who hate it hate the Church. They are the Heretics and not we." What indignant innocence ! says Raynouard. What suspicious temerity ! says Michelet. I venture to think it was neither, but a mere legal traverse. Defendants in those days never admitted anything ; the Bishop of Pamiers denied his rash speeches, Boniface his witchcraft, the Count of Flanders his own handwriting. Under this technicality, here, however, lay the feeling natural to all unreformed corporations : that they have not been unfaithful to their trust, and that the assailants' arguments are no better than their own, while they lack the sanctions

¹ Les Olim, III. 1. 148.

² Ibid.

³ Godefroi, 6047.

⁴ Rilshanger, 495. *Mélanges Hist. (Documents Inédits.)*, II. 446.

⁵ *Annal. Lond. : Chron. Edw. II. (Rolls Series, 76)*, 181, 185.

of sincerity and experience. This is easier to sneer at than to answer ; could it be true if the Order was guilty ? I should say, yes ; provided the Heresy had neither made nor marred the Order, but only intensified a cohesion that was already formed.

These rhetorical performances and this judicial squabble were against the King's interest, so the Pope thought it a suitable moment to make a further effort. First he tried to frighten Philip from pursuing Boniface's Memory, by discovering in April, 1310, that two such Trials could not be ready for hearing in October, and the Council must be postponed for a year ; then he tried to shame him from it, by ordering the Hospital to prepare the base for a crusade in Armenia. Philip however stood his ground ; the Commission after an adjournment resumed its sittings, in November, 1310, and found that the action of the Provincial Councils had provided it with a set of terror-struck witnesses.

These Councils have been called an afterthought ; the Archbishop of Sens was a prelate, says Mr. Froude to his Caledonian audience, and prelates have the official pride from which deacons are exempt. The Pope, however, sanctioned others in other countries where the Templar spirit had not revived. Their date, too, the spring of 1310, was natural, it gave both Bishops and Commission time to finish their inquiries before the original day fixed for the Vienne Council, if they chose. All three inquiries had been arranged for in advance. The clashing of the Bishops' 'and Inquisitors' trials was a common-place, neither used ever to stop for the other, and to say the Archbishops meant to obstruct the Commissioners is to say that the King at Poitiers, in 1308, foresaw the scene at St. Antoine, in 1310. The procedure was normal, and the conflict of jurisdictions, though caused by the rivalry of the judges, only became serious through the recklessness of the prisoners.

The Papal Commissioners had started with a belief in the innocence of the Order, which was neither inspired nor adopted by their superiors. In February, 1311, Philip gave up that claim for the trial of Boniface's Memory which had served his turn so well, but he only did so on condition the Temple should be seriously tried at Vienne, and that Nogaret's sacrilege should be pardoned ; the six years' battle between Pope and King had thus been lost and won. Such a growing political necessity no doubt influenced the judges, but it must have taken more than that to make them tolerate the 231 unsatisfactory witnesses who appeared. There seems to have been a fixity of outline about this wavering crowd, and a recurrent note in its discordant outcries, which led to that belief in the guilt of the Order, which is shown even in the ever-shortening form of the depositions. Was the Commission justified in thus changing with the times ?

¹ B. Guidonis, 211.

CHAP. XVI.

The Trial by the Inquisitors.

*das Messer scharf geschlissen,
das vom Feindeskopf
rasch mit drei geschickten Griffen,
schalte Haut und Schopf.*

(SCHILLER.)

THE inquiries during the autumn of 1307 had been conducted in the regular mode of the Inquisition. Our Protestant childhood, seated at meal-times on Illustrated Editions of Foxe's Book of Martyrs, renders our cultured manhood, based at all hours on journalistic axioms, as unjust to that system as a thieves' kitchen is to Archbold's Criminal Pleadings. Yet the Dominicans had their merits. From harsh principles, for which they were not responsible, they evolved a body of law which was, as compared with the secular justice of their day, so intelligent, expeditious, and humane, that I doubt if many innocent persons ever died under it; the records give no instances of acquittal, cry its enemies; but it seems to me, unless the trials culminated in conviction, they were not thought worth registering. Later it acquired a worse name; partly from the fault of the secular arm, whose punishments were not revised as times changed; partly from the good fortune of its victims, the Reformation was invented, and heretical spirits could select Protestant instead of Manichean doctrines to believe in. A more respectable, though equally wrong-headed, species of culprit became involved in the old fashioned penalties.

The Templars from all the country round were examined at Paris on the fourth set of seven Articles. There appear to be fewer questions, but that is because only the affirmative answers were taken down. Thus, 'at Paris, October 27th, a new clerk takes down four negative answers about the Idol, which are omitted elsewhere by the regular notaries. In the same way, the original negatives to the whole charge do not appear; yet the 'prisoners as usual first had the seven charges read over to them; only those who promised to confess were brought forward; of these, four rash young men broke their word, and were hurried away without having the concluding oath administered to them; those who refused altogether were tortured, because the preliminary inquiry in 1306 had raised a presumption of guilt against all Templars. This ³torture was administered by a cleric; a man of so much science (presumably anatomical) was required, that not one could be found in all England, and the ⁴Paris one was a monk, W. Roberts; under these experts were cruel and severe persons of lower position, often drunk. No ⁵wonder that the bulk of the prisoners confessed after merely being threatened. The answers, however, must not be taken

¹ Procès, II. 326—331.

Middle Ages; Dupuy, 414; Raynouard, 246.

² B. Guidonis, 84; Procès II. 399; cf.⁴ Procès, I. 36; Wilcke, II. 190.

Appendix A.

³ Mélanges Hist., II. 446; Hallam's⁵ Procès, I. 116.

as full confessions; they ¹were the result of a compact with the torturers or their fellow-prisoners, and even their phraseology varies with the reporter. Thus, ²on October 27th, four out of five prisoners use the word "concubitus," which hardly recurs once after, for their Crime, while other days have other synonyms.

The ³results of these answers, as they stand, are admittedly absurd. The charges in the seven articles are substantially four, Kiss, Denial, Permission, Idol. The 134 confessions extracted at Paris average $2\frac{1}{2}$ admissions of these charges a head. Molay, R. Caron, G. Gonavilla, and G. Delphin, whose interests seem to have been mainly Eastern, confess little beyond one charge apiece. H. Perald, P. Gisi, and J. Turno, all Western officials, confess four charges apiece. Second-rates, if priests, as J. Fouilly, R. Tremblay, and R. Orleans, confess one charge; if laymen, as G. Lenticourt, R. Larchant, W. Arblay, or J. Ducis, often confess four. Meanwhile the rank and file confess the three points of the Initiation but deny the Idol; while many knights, but, oddly enough, no priests, confess two points.

How can we explain such a result? The depositions, cry the apologists, are wholly extracted by torture. Certainly, Molay's servants were interrogated early, so as to get up a case against him before he appeared, but some such manipulation was necessary to break down the prisoner's extremely strong motives for silence. Torture, too, would not give the probable varieties that occur in the evidence unless the accusation was in the main true. Besides, if it was all coercion, why did the servants, the most coercible class, confess less than the knights, whose noble birth must have made them slow to avow such villanies? Or if we say, a set was made at the veterans, how comes it that the thirteen who confess only one charge are mainly of high standing? Or that they all seem to have obeyed the Grand Master's circular, and excused themselves at the expense of the Order?

This preliminary Trial, then, really reads more as if only the confession of a Denial were extorted all round, and that the judges were vague as to the Idol, seeking 'information as they went on. Thus, one prisoner admitted a head like a corpse, or a woman's, and the same words were at once put to the next. To these questions the politicians and priests of the Order replied as each thought most judicious; while the average Templars told much, but not all, of what they knew on the points asked, and volunteered no extra information.

Yes, say the apologists, we admit this appearance in the Paris Trial, but there is more uniformity in the country ones. There there were $3\frac{1}{4}$ instead of $2\frac{1}{2}$ admissions a head, and pressure is obvious. This monotony, however, seems to me caused by the captives being of lower rank; the heart of the Order was at Paris, and, though the limbs were crushed, it still throbbed painfully on. The average admissions throughout France to the Inquisitors were 3 a head.

¹ Procès, I. 36; Raynouard, 252.

² Procès, II. 326—331.

³ Appendix A.

⁴ Menard, 201, 203; contrast P. Galliard's answer with Jac. John's.

CHAP. XVII.

The Trial by the French Bishops.

*Betwixt sky and water
The Priest came and caught her.*

(“BLINKHOLIE.”)

THE original Process by the French Bishops in 1307 never became admissible evidence; but the more regular one, which gave them a month's start of all foreign prelates, was sanctioned in July, 1308, at a moment of great Papal weakness. Auxiliaries fare badly while their regulars are being beaten, and the Templars suffered much from their judges' alacrity. Many were tried while the See of Orleans was vacant; this was filled up in January, 1308, so that even if we allow the new Bishop a year before he settled down to his duties, much of the work must have been got through in the autumn of 1308. I should, therefore, assign September in that year as the date of the Pope's directions ¹to the Bishops. They were to try the individual Templars, *viâ officii*, on 87 articles, whether they had previously confessed or not; those who now denied were to be starved on bread and water, and then urged to admit the minimum allowable—that the Grand Master had personally confessed; if they refused that, they were to be first shown the torture, and then, if necessary, tortured themselves, slightly to begin with. Their confinement was not strict; the articles ²were smuggled in by outside friends, and when the Bishop came round to each gaol town in his diocese, the warders called on their prisoners to ‘repeat before him the answers they had made in 1307, copies of which were supplied them.

Such a procedure left abundant room for a transaction. At Saintes ⁴the culprits confessed “*aliqua*,” which must be at least three points; at Nismes they confirmed their old depositions; at Paris, J. Tortavilla repeated his original one so closely that he again avowed actual Crime. We can test the extent of their candour in this way. Thirty Templars ⁵of those who had confessed before W. of Paris averaged there $2\frac{1}{2}$ admissions a-piece; the same thirty when heard before the Papal Commission averaged $1\frac{2}{3}$ a-piece; the remaining 201 witnesses, who represented all districts, and had been mainly heard by their local Bishops, averaged 2 a-piece before the

¹ *Mélanges Hist.*, II. 446; *Procès*, I. 279.

⁴ *Procès*, II. 210.

² *Procès*, II. 456.

⁵ Appendix B.

³ *Procès*, I. 71; “*Nos vous lassames*.”

same Commission. Hence I infer that the bulk of the provincial Templars had averaged to their Bishops more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ admissions a-piece; and this is confirmed by the fact that the provincial captives had originally been more pliable than the Paris ones. The conclusion, then, seems to be that the Bishops with all their zeal could not extract such full confessions as had been made during the panic of the first autumn, but had to content themselves with about $2\frac{3}{4}$ a-piece from their victims.

Variations so mechanical as these are of course compatible with innocence; P. de Palude thought the occasional assertions of orthodoxy were the more credible, but genuine witnesses are more often sullen than dramatic. They are less compatible with being all the truth; nature is seldom stereotyped. They are most compatible with being part of the truth; first carefully revised and then published by contract.

The Bishops made such a good use of their month's start that by September, 1309, they were pressing the weary Clement with scholastic but practical inquiries how best to crush the remaining impenitents; to which the natural answer was given, that the old modes were quite quick enough, and they had to turn their attention to absolving the penitents instead. To the Templars this must have seemed the day-spring from on high, but it was really a fire within their camp which at once enlightened the attack and paralyzed the defence. A reconciled Heretic is capable of relapse.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Trial by the Papal Commission.

*Has Hope, like the bird in the story,
Still fluttered from tree to tree?*

(T. MOORE.)

THE Trial of the Order finally commenced on April 11th, 1310. By that time ¹the bulk of the French prisoners had been starved into making confession to their Bishops, so the inquiry promised to be easy. After three technical witnesses had proved the bad repute of the Order, the King brought up his first batch of captives. The character of these poltroons is a better argument for Templar innocence than the advocacy of its champions. Twenty-eight Templars of rather low degree were produced from a general reservoir, a house called The Serpent: 14 of them were disqualified as having been some of the Seventy-two heard by the Pope at Poitiers, where they had presumably been sworn to keep their depositions secret; of the other 14, 4 admit an Idol at Initiation, 2 the Cat, 3 had apostatized from the Order, and 2 rejoiced it was detected; the average admissions of the 231 witnesses called for this trial were 1 $\frac{2}{3}$ a head, but the earliest group averaged 2 $\frac{1}{3}$ a head; Philip then clearly put his most loquacious evidence forward first. Again, when the Commission re-assembled in November, it had mainly those who retracted before the Provincial Councils to deal with; no impenitents were called; thus, the Bishop of Clermont ²had tried 69, of whom 40 had confessed Heresy; the 29 who denied it, joined by 4 others, came up 33 strong to defend the Order; not one of these was called; the King went to the expense of bringing 12 of the confessing 40 up instead.

Thus the bulk of the witnesses had originally defended the Order, and had, therefore, the interest of the Temple at heart. If they were truthful, they would, of course, now tell the truth with those unexpected details that always accompany it; if they were cowed, they would deny nothing that could save their persons; if they looked at their depositions as mere counters in a game, they would be guided by the score at the moment. That score stood thus: any retraction of their personal guilt was fatal; the Commissioners were friendly but competent judges; any denial of the Order's guilt could do them no

¹ Raynouard, 107.

² Appendix C.

harm, and would better the Temple's chance at Vienne. Did they play accordingly?

The depositions seem accurately described when B. St. Just says of his own, "I will confess here less than I did before either Inquisitors or Bishops." The admissions average slightly more than 1 $\frac{2}{3}$ a head; before the Inquisitors they averaged 3; before the Bishops about 2 $\frac{3}{4}$. Each here represents himself as personally guilty, but he begins by disavowing any rank in the Order, or presence in the Chapters General, or the seeing another illicitly received; thus implying that the Order was innocent. This protest would have read less like an involuntary admission that the Chapters were unholy had it vouched their orthodoxy in plain words; and it would have been more credible if the same protestors had not at previous trials declared that the novices were coerced by the Preceptors, and that the members were therefore innocent and the Order guilty. All through the long four years nothing was admitted that could be denied with impunity.

The case, then, on the documents is that about 200 witnesses admit their own guilt, but deny each other's; this is an absurdity. How shall we avoid it?

My way, says Raynouard; every heretical act they confess is false, but they told no more lies than were necessary to save their lives; this he proves by a somewhat wooden comparison between the evidence given before the Inquisitors and the Commissioners, and by finding discrepancies which he calls the signs of perjury. This is a matter of taste, but to me they read as signs of truth. Take the widest difference; P. Bono Opere's two depositions; the short Initiation by H. Perald, of 1307, has grown by 1310 into a long story of a wardrobe, a lantern, and two servants with hoods on their faces; but when read calmly the former only seems a hurried version of the latter; besides, they come in the wrong order; the torture of 1307 should have produced more details, if false, than the clemency of 1311, which allowed most confessions to dwindle 30 per cent. But, says Raynouard, the Inquisitors describe many Templars denying to their Receiver; while the Commissioners describe the same men as denying to servants; now, if this were a serious discrepancy, we should also have confessions in 1307 vouching servants', repeated by the same men in 1311, vouching the Receiver's presence; but we have not; Receiver really seems a mere notarial form of 1307, a translation of the answer, "I was made to deny," when no stress was laid on "who made you?"

The depositions further vary, 'according to what Bishop heard them. Prisoners who had been heard by the Bishop of Amiens will probably admit three crimes before the Commission; by the Bishop of Orleans they will admit Denial and Kiss; by the Bishop of Soissons, Denial and Permission; by the Bishop of Limoges, Denial and Kiss,

or plain Denial, but not Denial and Permission; those from Rodez will admit two charges; one emerging from the hands of the Bishops of Paris or Chartres will most likely admit only the single Denial, while it is odds on one under the less formidable Official of Poitiers asserting his entire innocence. But even this Diocese theory will not explain everything. The first Clermont set averaged two admissions a head, while a later one averaged three; the Saintes prisoners, who had mainly lived at Rochelle, had all confessed to their Bishop, but the first set asserted innocence to the Commissioners, while a second set, apparently sent for in consequence, alarmed at the discredit into which their predecessors had fallen, confess the Denial to a man. All this rather suggests an agreement between the various members of each group in each jail to minimize their previous statements as much as those statements had minimized the truth. The 225 depositions, then, are partial repetitions of the confessions made to the Bishops; and what P. Bononia accused the King's party of was probably true of his own; "they instructed and suborned all they could get at, until their evidence tallied exactly."

The courts of that day, however, were too procedure-ridden to discover truth, unless it was volunteered or extracted by torture, and the Commission's report throws little light on the details of the heresy. The Templars had yielded to the rack and pulley in 1307, but they fought a drawn battle with the more civilized inquiry in 1310.

CHAP. XIX.

The Trial by the Provincial Councils.

Behold the treasures of Euprepes, which he sends before him to the Palace of the Great King!

(G. ADAMS.)

THE results of the Trials up to this point were scanty, and even that little is wrong, says Raynouard; quite eighty Templars, who might have saved their lives by refusing to defend the Order, proved its innocence by asserting it at the stake. Does this fact rebut the presumptions of guilt that have already appeared?

Before testing this question, let us see what the behaviour of contemporary Heretics was. That appears to have been very uniform; they did not believe in their Heresy enough to die willingly for it, but they believed too much to disown it: therefore they denied evasively. Look at the answers ¹Eymerick warns the Inquisitors against: "What do you believe of the Wafer?" "What do you, sir?" "I believe it is the body of God." "I believe that, too, sir;" that is, "I believe that you, the Judge, believe it." The heretical spirit does not vary; and devil-raising Priests, Beguin seducers, blasphemous Jews, and lightly-absolved Manichees, exactly resemble the Templars in making quibbling defences, palliated confessions, and judicious relapses.

The Heretics' obstinacy when finally condemned is equally undoubted. They ²sought to be burnt as martyrs, thinking they would thus fly up to heaven at once. Spina ³cautions his readers that heretics on their way to execution should always be gagged, for they are sure to blaspheme. A Heretic ⁴who had retracted, was met on his return by his wife; "Wretch," said she, "to prefer your miserable life to our noble, and sane, and well-proved religion." Eymerick only ⁵once saw a retraction at the stake. An Heresiarch ⁶would lay his half-burnt hands on the heads of his fellow sufferers in the fire and say, "This day shall you be with St. Lawrence." Mediæval criticism

¹ Eymerick, 430.

² Ibid. 514.

³ Fort. Fidei, Book III.

⁴ Caesar Heistenbach (Dial.) I, II. ch. 17, p. 133.

⁵ Eymerick, 516.

⁶ Cæs. Heist. III. 5, 19.

was so illogical that those who denied the Church's sacraments believed in the Church's heaven, and set up private rites of their own as the way to get there. Such a spirit, when tested, proved a mixture of great egotism and great passivity, an acceptance of the situation too hysterical and defiant to be easily realized by this more worldly but less conceited generation.

The Templars' attitude to their judges was substantially like that of these outcasts. The Inquisitors had pounced, not as usual on some obvious case, but on a secret one many bystanders believed to be fictitious; hence a bold denial proved a more harassing defence than an evasive one. The silly pride, again, all Heretics have in their Heresy, was deepened in Paris by a sense of the celebrity of their Order; and it must have been intensified if the Heresy were (as we have seen probable) the mere accompaniment of a well-marked, almost orthodox, mode of religious life. Unluckily, the law had to decide Guilty or Not guilty, a question of fact, by an inquiry, whether the confessions had been revoked, a question of morality; and the Temple memory profits by that confusion to this day. Besides, such wealthy men had even a stronger motive than the heretical temper for pretending an innocence any Heretics would have asserted.

If the Templars resembled their contemporaries before sentence, can we wonder that they did not differ after it? The retraction before a Council implied much disgrace. These Provincial Councils were great landmarks in the Trial. Cloaks were doffed then that had weathered three previous inquiries; the prisoners came on wearing them, apparently in the same gangs in which they were chained in their prison rooms; tiers of judges frowned on them, ushers buzzed about whispering them to withdraw their confessions, and helping the retractors to unbuckle their robes; there they stood, called on to admit their disavowals of the old confessions were false, their hopes for the Order ill grounded, and themselves no better than the penitents they had quitted so disdainfully three months before, and who were now cowering around them. Add a soldier's pride, a politician's partisanship, and the cynicism of a judicial duellist, to a Heretic's perversity and a bankrupt investor's despair, and the wonder is, not that some eighty did refuse to retract, but that the other 400 did not.

The courage even of the fifty-four assorted martyrs of May 11th must be discounted. Raynouard's list of names seems to me to require revision; the spelling in the various places where the defenders' names recur is so varied that certainty is impossible, but we may expect to find the names of most of those who were burnt somewhere, as it must have been convenient for the survivors to vouch dead men who could not contradict their stories; to get 'a live friend's name on to the parchment was always considered an unfriendly act.

¹ Molinier, 343.

A LIST OF SOME OF THE TEMPLARS EXECUTED AT THE
FRENCH PROVINCIAL COUNCILS.

AT THE COUNCIL OF SENS.

Defending.	Dead.
Procès, I. 58. (<i>Voulaine</i>)	
J. Monte Belleti	II. 264
H. Buris	I. 351
59. (<i>Sens</i> .)	
J. Chamar	I. 541
J. Vernolio	I. 639
J. Rubeomonte	II. 64
60. (<i>Meaux</i> .)	
Matt. Cayneis	I. 496
J. Nigrancuria	I. 365
61. (<i>Tours</i> .)	
Andreas Beri	II. 235
63. (<i>Amiens</i> .)	
Terricus Remis (as Garricus Nulli)	II. 69
Nich. Ambianis	II. 70
66. (<i>Corbeil</i> .)	
R. Flamengo	I. 243
" (<i>Voulaine</i> .)	
W. Buris (priest)	I. 581
J. Volenis (priest as J. Buris) ..	I. 297
Steph. Espanheys	II. 265
J. Foresta	I. 346
67. (<i>Coflant</i> .)	
R. Ploysiaco	I. 521
68. (<i>Bayeux</i> .)	
J. Chames	II. 47
J. Nans in Valle (priest)	II. 61
69. (<i>Tyers</i> .)	
J. Sacy	I. 575
B. Biceyo	I. 351
70. (<i>Voulaine</i> .)	
H. Anglesi (kt.)	I. 509
Laurence Belna. (Pr. of Apulia) ..	I. 591
P. Cormellis	I. 325
Andreas Buris (as Gaucerand Buris, cf. II. 265)	I. 538
G. Nici	"
M. Monte Moreti (as M. Nici) ..	"
Rob. Cormellis (as R. Les-colhe, cf. I. 297)	II. 53
Steph. Castillio (as Divio)	I. 335
J. Cormellis (as Pacat or Pancon)	"
J. Baleno (as Belna)	"
Jac. Lavine (as J. Avenot)	I. 581
S. Vollenis	"
J. Cochiaco (as J. Grilhot)	I. 297
Rad. Ganduhon	"

Procès, I. 70. (*Voulaine*.)

Dead, but not recognizable as defending—	
Diderius Buris (cf. II. 177) ..	I. 302
W. Belna	"
Benign Divio	"
J. Divio	"
M. Buxiaco	I. 581
Defending.	
83. (<i>Trappe</i> .)	
R. Frenoy	I. 363
85. (<i>Gisors</i> .)	
Walt. Bullens	I. 535

AT THE ADJOURNED COUNCIL OF
PARIS.

65. Matt. Atrabato	I. 545
Radulph Grand Villars	I. 494
Placed here because in the same prison set as R. Pruino, who was tried after May 11th.	
80. Ponsard Gisi	I. 521
N. Gella	II. 67
Because others of their prison set renounced when P. Bononia was tried, after May 11th. (I. 283.)	

AT THE COUNCIL OF CARCASSONE.

69. (<i>Carcassone</i> .)	
J. Cassanhas.	
74. (<i>Thoulouse</i> .)	
R. Bernard	II. 158
230. (<i>Rodez</i> .)	
R. Bertrand	II. 212

AT THE COUNCIL OF RHEIMS.

74. (<i>Creveceur</i> .)	
Clem. Grand Villars	II. 79
Nich. Serra	I. 434
83. (<i>Trappe</i> .)	
Luke Servoy	II. 79
Walt. Villa Savoir	I. 374
P. Caemi (?)	I. 365
Hugo Dalchiaco (or Delhi) ..	I. 622
Roger Mosselhas	I. 477
P. Turno (as C. Turno)	I. 625

AT THE COUNCIL OF ROUEN.

85. (<i>Gisors</i> .)	
W. Gande	II. 184
N. Puteolis	I. 431
J. Cormellis	I. 439
Matt. Renaud	I. 554
Rob. Grand Villars	I. 365
Rob. Sornay	I. 362

If this list be at all correct, it is clear they denied by platoons, according to what prison set they were chained with. Half at least came from the large Voulaine set, of whose ¹penitents even, J. Rumprey, one out of three, again revoked before the Commission,

¹ Appendix C.

while the leaders, H. Anglesi and L. Belna, with several priests, formed a rallying point for the obstinate. Were all the sets sounded, and their most obstinate members called up first for judgment? If so, the twenty-five selected spokesmen would have appeared; but they were mostly tried later. A clue can, I think, be found in the fact that all who were sentenced at Paris were sentenced the first day of the Council; this looks as if the later ones had been frightened at their predecessors' fate. Every Templar had been through at least two Trials, and heard many official threats before, so that the first batch may well have believed that not even this Trial was final, that after just one assertion of innocence more they would be allowed to defend the Order with renewed impressiveness. In fact, these fifty-four venerable sufferers were burnt for miscounting their cards.

The later executions at Rheims, Rouen, and Carcassone, and elsewhere, require further explanations. The victims were not intimidated by the death of the fifty-four; yet they need not have been innocent; Ponsard Gisi declared he would die for the honour of an Order he admitted was heretical; and J. Cassanhas made the most obviously truthful of the early confessions. Naturally each local set hoped that its local Council would come to a different conclusion from the metropolitan one; and as here, too, we have the greatest mortality in the Gisors and the Trappe set, the survivors probably renounced the defence in a body on hearing the first sentences, as had been done in Paris.

The real motive, however, which brought all these mixed motives into action, both in town and country, may be found in the status of the victims. The natural tendency of the rank and file was to brazen out the defence; they would risk beheading, they said; a select King's witness, Aymeric Villa Ducis, actually chose the 11th of May to retract his deposition on, proving how contagious the suicidal example was to some minds. The natural tendency, however, of the leading French Preceptors was to renounce, like P. Bononia, or E. Rotangi, or R. Pruino. Hence, whenever the Preceptors themselves, like L. Belna or J. Chames, happened to be obstinate, whole groups under them were gregarious enough to choose to get condemned too; it is another instance of that love for property which meets us at every turn in the middle ages, and which *La peine forte et dure* could not break down even in vulgar criminals; many more Templars would have been burnt had the average Preceptor only known how innocent M. Raynouard would say the Order was. The character of those few who suffered is obvious; they were the rulers of long-established, but second class houses (not districts), and their adherents were elderly men, the Chapter-party of their Maison. Too deeply dipped to be able to hope for a short term of imprisonment, too obscure to be worth the King's conciliation, too homely to view the crash of their little world with aristocratic indifference, yet too self-important to see that suicide was useless, they refused the blunt offer of the criers who tendered them life in exchange for disgrace, and listened rather to that whisper, dear to wounded vanity in all ages, which promises a pinchbeck crown to volunteer martyrs.

CHAP. XX.

The Trial by the Œcumenical Council at Vienne.

*Call we our friends to share with us their part
In this unhappy mansion.*

(J. MILTON.)

THE result of the four years' litigation was a pile of about 2,000 depositions, which were collected at Malaucene, near Vaison; the examiners declared that by them the guilt of many individual Templars was proved, and that of the Order was presumable. Have we any reason to dissent from these findings?

On the first head, the evidence all points one way. Many of the depositions coincide most suspiciously in their excuses, though the Receivers differ in all cases. Five examined by the Papal Commission, who had been heard by the Bishop ¹of Amiens, and reconciled at Rheims, say they spat on the cross of their mantles, to evade admitting they spat on the crucifix. Six from ²Limoges, for the same reason, swear they kissed their Receiver's shoulder first, and spat on the ground in a dark corner afterwards, and protest that they adored a cross on Good Friday, and wear their cords in St. Bernard's honour; another set ³from the same place make the same assertions two months later, with the Kiss again preceding the Denial, an order of things rarely occurring elsewhere. Both Clermont sets, ⁴though admitting less and more, put the Kiss, whenever confessed, amidships. The Rodez set ⁵mostly confess Spitting without Denial. The second Saintes set ⁶all confess Denial without Spitting. Two late comers from Paris ⁷had been coerced by swordsmen. Three of the Voulaine set ⁸denied Jesus, but not Christ or God. Two from Rheims ⁹forget which they denied, God or Jesus. The Saulin-sur-Yonne set all ¹⁰make dramatic apologies for their Heresy; they would rather have been on a gallows, or anywhere than there, or have been forty miles away, or have had a leg broken.

There are varieties, too, as strong as these concerted uniformities. The modes of reception slightly change with the Receiver; Gerard Villars often led the novice away from other spectators, G.

¹ Appendix C.; Procès, I. 477—490.

² Ibid. I. 602—618.

³ Ibid. II. 219—232.

⁴ Ibid. II. 121—151, 233—256.

⁵ Ibid. II. 154—170.

⁶ Ibid. II. 198—216.

⁷ Ibid. II. 256—259.

⁸ Ibid. I. 631—635.

⁹ Ibid. II. 42—44.

¹⁰ Ibid. I. 334—350.

Grand-Villars usually fetched the cross himself, R. St. Just made others bring it and then go away, P. Madit was talkative, and R. Gisi twice wept at the unpleasant duty he had to perform. Again, no Preceptors are specially vouched as specially not guilty; Amblard of Vienne is sworn to have performed four out of six receptions licitly, but that is only because he had operated on the Rochelle party, who agreed to be innocent; and finally, a licit reception is not more frequently fathered on an impenitent like H. Blanch than it is on a self-accused culprit like H. Perald or R. Gisi.

The point, however, on which details were mainly called for was the Initiation; here perjury, then, would be most probable, and yet nowhere are the signs of truth thicker. When the orthodox reception was complete the Receiver told the novice to deny Christ, because he was now bound, was theirs all over, would not like prison, would not be worse off, others did it, it was no time for questions, it was a point of the Order, or he must follow the Temple ways. He then had to spit at, drag three paces, or trample on, the cross on a mantle or a tunic or a missal, or made of two straws or a split stick or red cloth, or the crucifix, which was silver or brass black or green, laid on the ground or on a bench or in the Receiver's breast, used for funerals, or standing by the altar, or painted on parchment, or carved on a stone near where they read the Epistle. If the novice refused he was seized by the shoulders, or throat, or chest, or head and neck, and confronted with a knife, or a drawn sword, and told he would be killed, thrown down a sewer, meet with bad luck, die a bad death, or have small joy of his life; others were threatened with prison, or a ditch, or a spot whence they would be glad to escape, or a bag where they would find no friends, or a cell where they would not see their hand or their foot, or the sun and moon. The brethren meanwhile paced up and down the scene of initiation, which was either chapel or hall, cellar or sacristy, or tailor's room, while the Receiver, with a low voice, or a cautious look round, or a contemptuous stare, edified his pupil with such golden words as these:—"You will make a good bully"; "I wish to test you"; "The mouth says more than the heart"; "Henceforth do not believe"; "In my country we deny 100 times for a louse"; "Spit on the Prophet"; and at last, with a malicious smile, "Now, fool, go and confess." The guilt of the individuals borders on the obvious.

The guilt of the Order is more disputable. The foreign inquiries help us little. Some 'refugee Templars, who alleged, probably falsely, they had been imprisoned by the Saracens, were tried by two Cardinals, and naturally acquitted. The Nismes Trial has its three knights confessing to betwitched women; but this very point, as well as one about ravens, had been put to them, presumably from a contemporary deposition, before torture, so they knew how to answer.

The Florence Trial, again, which so impresses M. Loiseleur, is mainly an echo of the questions; the attributes the witnesses give their Idol come directly from the Indictment; I believe them to be true, as far as they go, but because they are asked, not because they are answered. England alone, with its village wiseacres, gives us a further slight glance behind the veil.

When we consider, however, the guilt of the individuals, the problem becomes easier. All the official defences disappear, unless the Temple was wholly blameless; and that position is surrendered. Nor are there any signs of the local disorders which Molay hinted at; the heretical receptions are denied by some groups, confessed by others, but each group puts its examples in a score of different places, and no witness who denies his own guilt admits that of others. Professor Prutz ¹ thinks the system had been accepted by the Eastern and French Templars, but was detected before it could reach Spain, Germany, or England; in other words, exactly those who were safe from torture were innocent; if he is right, at least H. Blanch should have confessed, and the evidence in Wilkins should be recent; in reality, however, quite one-third of the catch phrases which showed the Heresy had become inveterate are found in that Process. A better defence is one ² made by H. Narsac: "Rich and noble novices are not thus degraded;" possibly they were not made a public laughing-stock; yet W. Juytos, one of four specially excused for that reason, soon after watched his own nephew deny, with composure. The innocence of the Order borders on the impossible, and we cannot blame the King for having commenced the prosecution.

His behaviour at Vienne bears out this view; had he been the tyrant Raynouard imagines, he would have enforced the Order's condemnation with a high hand; but instead of thus acting up to the opinion of posterity, he only secured its dissolution, and had to purchase that with the loss of his hope for the merger of the Temple and Hospital in a new Royal Order. This was the last bargain the knights were made the victims of. On March 22nd, 1312, Clement finally annulled their Order, justifying this act ³ as irregular but expedient. Irregular, no doubt; the evidence did not technically prove the full offences charged, and the Temple champions were not admitted at Vienne to defend as originally intended; but can we call it unjust?

¹ H. G. Prutz. (*Geheimlehre Tempel.*) Introduction.

² *Procès*, II. 207.

³ Wilcke, II. 297.

CHAP. XXI.

The Death of the Grand Master and his Companion.

*Loud though you talk, and high though you ride,
And little you heed my sorrow,
I shall be free on the mountain side
While you lie low to-morrow.*

(C. LEVER.)

THE final protest by the Grand Master and the Preceptor of Normandy, and their consequent execution, leaves for ever uncertain, according to Michelet, the decision on this difficult question. To me, however, it throws a flood of light back on the preceding darkness.

Five Preceptors were specially reserved by the Pope, for himself to inquire into their personal guilt; they are usually thought to have been J. Molay, H. Perald, R. Caron, G. Gonavilla, and Guy Dauphin of Vienne. This latter name we owe to Villani, but that historian was not above mistakes; he thought that the Denunciation was the Indictment, that the Preceptors confessed at Poitiers instead of Chinon, that there was no trial at his own Florence, and that the order was annulled at Notre Dame in 1313. On our present point he seems to have gone wrong thrice. He knew that some knights of the Convent party were seized by Nogaret at Paris, in 1307, and that sixty were burnt there in 1310; hence he seems to have inferred there were sixty knights of the Convent-party seized, and the same sixty burnt; we have seen this was not so. Again, he knew there was a Guy Dauphin in the Convent-party, and, unless Viena is a misprint for Alvernia from his chronicles, he believed him to be Dauphin of Vienne; but the only Templar Dauphin we can trace is 'Guy Dauphin of Auvergne. Finally, knowing he was not the H. Perald or G. Gonavilla who retracted, he condemns him to a fiery death; but the Templar G. Dauphin had been absolved by the Bishop of Paris, abjured his mantle at the Council of Sens, and was examined by the Papal Commission; all this would have been irregular had he been before the Cardinals at Chinon. There are fewer difficulties in supposing the real prisoner who followed Molay to the stake was Walter Charneius, Preceptor of all Normandy.

These Five were reserved to protect them from the French power: this is proved by the King's refusal to let them go further than Chinon, and the fewer precautions the Pope took for equally high officers who were in gentler keeping in England and Cyprus. Even so Clement's hand shielded them little: this is proved by the contrast their feigned penitence made to H. Blanch's defiance.

¹ Dupuy, 310: Dupuy (Hist. Maison d'Auvergne), II. 277.

H. Blanch, apparently, returned from Cyprus with Molay, in 1306, passing on to London in 1307, to school the brethren against the coming inquiry; perhaps it was he who imprisoned W. Bachelor there; he was connected with the East, and the spirited district of Clermont, and possibly inhaled a little extra obstinacy with our English air; anyhow, he shows out as a typical Templar. It is unlucky that the ideal of St. Bernard, the favour of the Church, and the pride of Knighthood, should have produced a liar as their joint quintessence, but H. Perald's dinner with the Cardinals is symbolical of so many cowardly intrigues, that it is satisfactory to find one wineglass that was not in its place there; its owner died impenitent in the worst cell of his Newgate prison.

Even among his five softer brethren there seems a division. The Western party, H. Perald and G. Gonavilla, expected to buy their own safety, and perhaps the Order's, by making a moderately clean breast of it; but the Easterns, R. Caron and W. Charneius, were of a different spirit, and approved the Grand Master as their spokesman. Molay had sanctioned the migration to intimidate the Pope, and then called in the loans to intimidate the King; afterwards, as the prospect darkened, he slightly shifted his ground by admitting an heretical Absolution, still hoping to stifle a real inquiry. Then came the caption, and he, probably through a bargain with the King, repeated the same manœuvre, and confessed the minimum admissible, Denial, but not Spitting, and invited others to do the same. When the immediate danger was over, and before Papal favour had finally disappeared, he made his brethren retract; that this was good policy is shown by the uneasiness it gave the King. When the danger revived, he played a specially penitent part at Chinon, which R. Caron imitated; that this was good policy is shown by the efforts the Cardinals made to rescue him. Grouvelle thinks he was always varying, but the only changes I can discover are those from confessions to downright retractions. Plasian came to watch him before the Commission, not to see if he varied, but lest he should wilfully destroy himself; and his appearance there is alternately that of innocence and guilt. In the first he plays the ill-used martyr, and challenges the recitals in the charge; it happens daily at Petty Sessions. "You must not challenge us," say the Commissioners, and he at once shifts his ground. "Oh, I only meant I wished all Templars proved Heretics might be beheaded as Saracen renegades are." This zeal was so unmannerly and simulated that it produced the only outbreak of the Commissioners in the whole trial—"No: obstinate Heretics are burnt." Such a taunt at his perilous position made him subside ¹into a suggestion that perhaps some brethren might be more orthodox than others, and then into a desertion of the Order.

Here, then, we have three separate rehearsals of the tragi-comedy performed, March 18th, 1313, on the platform at Notre Dame. The Cardinals took care their arrival should synchronize with one of the King's visits to Paris, and got the four surviving Preceptors,

R. Caron was dead, to promise to behave contritely; yet, on hearing his sentence pronounced, Molay broke out into rude contradictions as before. His calculated anger shows that it was not the hope of the Order's restoration—that had been dissolved for quite a twelvemonth—which had kept him quiet so far, but of his own liberty. The authorities now dropped their stage smile of clemency, and ordered him imprisonment for life; and he returned the blow with his best weapon, though a wooden one, retraction. The Preceptor of Normandy, moved either by loyalty or pre-arrangement, imitated him, and the farce turned to earnest. Molay 'was at once struck on the mouth, and dragged to an adjacent chapel by the hair, whence he was ordered to execution by the King the same evening. On his way thither, he threw money to the crowd, though they refused him the usual compliment of praying for his soul; and on reaching the river he was taken in a boat to the Palace Eyot, where he and his comrade asked to be bound facing the Crucifix, and met their fate with the calmness natural when dying hard is the sole remaining mode for asserting oneself and annoying one's enemies.

The Grand Master's death made an impression which has every prospect of surviving both the nation and the Church whose rulers he denounced at the stake; but does he deserve his immortality? His later conduct is as sinister as his earlier; instead of submitting to his Apostolic Father, he put the Order above the Church. A corporation so dearly prized is likely to have been the home of anything rather than Christian simplicity, and death in its honour is merely the act of a partisan who could see only technical heresy in his own guilt, only tyrannous equals in his prosecutors, and only a judicial duel in his trial.

If he was no saint, he was also no statesman. Too little foresight and too much conservatism marked his fatal migration in 1306; he should have listened more to his Western experts. Again, after the caption in 1307, he began a course of amateur diplomacy, and cut the figure amateur diplomatists generally do. It is only between these dates that he made a rational effort; during the spring of 1307 circumstances must have suggested to him a stroke for power; and just at that time we find him forbidding desertion, intimidating the King, organizing silence, and waving the timid counsels of Visitors and Passage-masters aside, in the undecided but self-reliant attitude of a man conscious of a great possibility. The prospect disappeared, however, and in its place we see a career fortunate from birth breaking down in old age; a leader destroying a cause as well as himself; philosophical cowardice mistaking times and seasons; special honour ending in special disgrace; and an attempt to retrieve all resulting in a ludicrous death, under the eyes of an enemy who had been right all the time. Such a combination makes Jacques de Molay to many the most tragical figure in history.

¹ Godefroi, 6047; Boccaccio, *Cas. Vir. Illust.*, Pt. III.; *Las Matrie*. II. 690.

CHAP. XXII.

The Results of the Trials.

*You've hid a Tory in the house
Without the leave of me !*

(D. KENNEDY.)

THE Order was worthy of its saints. Hampered as the trials had been by the judges' scholastic zeal for uniformity of proof and ignorance of the real facts, and by the prisoners' motives for silence and sense of equality with their prosecutors, still the case as proved implies further facts which are fatal to the Temple orthodoxy.

The least heretical state of things the evidence permits our believing is that the Preceptors had greater authority but were less virtuous than the average abbot, and the brethren ¹more illiterate than the average monk. The Order externally was orthodox, and fulfilled its religious and secular duties without open scandal, but it encroached, a common offence, on the Bishop's rights, and its forms were vaguely suspected. Internally, Simony had destroyed its spirit; but when the spirit is dead, mystery often takes its place, and the Templars lived in a state of gloomy secrecy and strict discipline. The old statute-book was shown to few, and private copies were continually burnt; the customs of the Good Men of the Order had become paramount.

Meanwhile the original Rule was technically still in force, but the phrase "Magdalen" in the Absolution formula has grown into a second religion which binds the whole Order, and that, like the first, has rules of its own. They are the statutes of Pilgrims' Castle; like their prototypes, they are in graduated shapes; a large ²roll for the Provincial Master, a small book for the House-prior, a mere schedule for the average Good Man, and for the servants nothing at all.

The form of the contents we can only guess at. Perhaps they resembled the orthodox ones; and comprised a ritual for Initiation, and the Chapters, and then additions to obscure rules, with ³anecdotes or leading cases at the end, such as "What the Cat did at Damietta." The matter, however, is less doubtful. There is a superior God, the true one, who created heaven and earth, who is not dead and will not die. Beneath him there is a Holy One who talks to God when he

¹ Dupuy, 433.² Wilkins, II. 358, 363; Procès, I. 175.³ Raynouard, 283.

pleases ; practically omnipotent, he is the 'conventional God and the conventional Mahound combined ; he leads lay-men to desire admission to the Temple, and procures it for them, and wins them the love of their superiors ; he provides Templars with horses and gold when in difficulties, makes the lands of the Order fertile, its trees bloom, and its cattle calve, and, by making the brethren wise and rich, saves them both body and soul. On the other hand, Jesus Christ, whom they paint pictures of in Church, is a mere man, crucified by the Jews for his crime in calling himself the True God ; his body is not in the wafer, and all true Templars must renounce him at Initiation. Each novice, after admission, must thrice deny the Crucified, and spit on the Cross, and then kiss the Preceptor, or he them, three, or, ²properly, four times, usually in an upward direction, and consent to the committal of Crime. Some also promised to Acquire money for the Order right or wrong, and others saw their uniform girdles wound round an Idol's head before they received them ; these Idols being generally pocket ones kept by the Preceptors.

Crime and infanticide occurred in unofficial gatherings, but at the Provincial Chapters the real leaders met ; after sermon the chaplain was bowed out, and they began upon business. In an hour or two ³the Good Men, the middle-grade Templars, were called in to ratify the contracts the seniors had negotiated ; eating and drinking went on, and then an Idol was brought in a bag. Its titles to honour, "Saviour," "Fertilizer," were proclaimed herald-fashion as it passed up the Hall to its post beside the Preceptor. This Idol was not handsome ; it often had more than one head, and usually a body and legs ; it wore gold and silver round its neck, and a hood or a dalmatic on its shoulders ; all bowed and adored, holding up crosses to it, which they spat on ; fresh girdles were measured off its temples, and Initiations and Denials were repeated. Meanwhile heads ⁴on poles and pictures on walls surveyed the scene, and iron pigs and wooden calves were planted about the room ; a Cat, of the pantomime variety, prowled round and about, promising gold and good seasons to his votaries, while the Idol answered all questions, presumably with as little bias towards authority, as the Pythia's towards Macedon ; the whole concluding with an inrush of excited female oblates worthy of a Japanese quadrille. Absolution was then proposed by the Preceptor ; no one moved ; "I see, then, all are free from sin," and Raynouard's calumniated protégés retired into private life.

¹ Loiseleur, 184.

² Procès, I. 475.

³ Loiseleur, 194.

⁴ Procès, I. 597 ; II. 315 ; Grouvelle, 78 ; Wilcke, II. 267.

CHAP. XXIII.

How the Heresy invaded the Temple.

*'Twas a negro the pilot-fish signalled,
But a hash we cut out of the shark.*

(R. METHUEN.)

MR. FROUDE speaks of this Heresy as trifling, but the Inquisitor called it one that shook the earth; while the knights declared it dreadful but untrue. We have seen it was true, and seriously enforced; but suppose the Order was orthodox all the time?

Rites of Denial and Spitting, as practised by the Templars, were common to various Heretics of that day, especially to perverts to Islam. Oddly enough these were the very points that most shocked the public mind. Denial ¹was worse than the Idol, and only universally confessed because the Inquisitors insisted on it; while Spitting was the most palliated by the witnesses, and seems therefore to have been worst of all. The genuine novelties—the Idol, with its attributes and Crime—were much less thought of; they were classed as something too natural to Heresy to be worth inquiring about. The Cat, also, was known to the official world as an object of worship in wild districts—among the Stadingi, and in Switzerland, and the Alps, where the Waldenses adopted it ²with other errors from the old heretical refugees; and its cult has survived to this day in the Caucasus, ³where it forms an oracle for the Teulutians. It was an out-law's god.

These varied rites do not seem to have been transferred bodily into the Temple from some fixed external system. The Denial was too like the old rough tests for admission; the vow of Poverty suggested Acquiring, right or wrong; and Chastity, Crime. "The Glorious Magdalen"—an earlier phrase—was improved by the addition of "The Dying Thief." The Idol, too, need not have ranked so high in its old home as it did in the Temple; ⁴there it was called St. Peter or St. Blaise, or one of the 11,000 Virgins, and adored as such; and its annual appearance in the Chapter was explained as an exhibition of relics from the Holy Land. Munter thinks the knights habitually worshipped some relic; if so, the Idol after importation probably acquired the dignity of the rite it superseded. An introduction

¹ Procès, II. 364.² B. Guidonis. 244, 248.³ R. Lyall (Travels in Russia), I. 485.⁴ Procès, I. 502; II. 193, 240; Raynouard, 248; Wilkins, II. 358.

that was so tentative suggests that the Heresy was borrowed from a very flexible sect.

This importation does not seem the work of fanatics, as M. Loiseleur thinks; the modern curate would despise a communion only held once a year; it was rather the work of schemers, and intended to impress by its rarity. Its authors can be easily guessed; it was only between the night and day that the Heresy appeared, at Initiation, at Chapters General, and at Absolution, just the moments when the chaplain was too clerical, and the lay Preceptor had power. What motives would these chiefs have most felt? They were immoral, self-absorbed, and imperious, and found their Order suddenly enriched and recruited by non-crusaders: their policy then naturally became one of centralization and accumulation. Any relaxation ¹ of authority was marked by the local Templars at once wasting money, and had to be met by an order for the restriction of alms; these orders again had to be enforced, especially against those likely to suggest mutiny to the outlying cashiers. Who were they? The Preceptors being above, not below their own clergy, and having to govern and not criticize, declined to give a philosophic answer to this question. They found the difficulty in their priests, ² who absolved without enforcing restitution from Templars who had defrauded the Order; and in the educated brethren, men who could read the charters and knew their individual rights. These were the internal counterparts of their external enemies the Bishops, and the common voice of the Order ³ declared that since literates were admitted, the Temple had never made its profit. The Heresy then seems a plan adopted by vicious leaders, probably after private experience, to gag disaffected and marshal dull followers. The grotesque Temple Deity was not merely a squeaking scarecrow, it represented the victory of the old fighting days over the new commercial ones; the control of the West by the East.

¹ Loiseleur, 194; Procès, I. 531.

² Ibid. I. 448.

³ Ibid I. 389.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Templars' view of their own Heresy.

*He did not tell them of his name,
He did not say from whence he came,
Who builded Joyous Guard.*

(G. A. SIMCOX.)

THE Cat himself prowled for an hour among these mysteries, adding queerness to the queer scene, but his chroniclers will not allow even so much liberty to the supercilious spirit that invited his presence. Every legend the Templars narrate is treated as possible history, instead of natural ignorance, and each impious phrase they use is called part of an original Heresy, and not a gloss on an established one, as if the men who developed an orthodox gathering into such an odd form were bound to stereotype the first new shape it took.

Unluckily, the explanations contradict each other. The heretical statutes are now those of Damietta, now of Pilgrim's Castle. The Initiation they order is now described as the work of Pagans, now of bad Grand Masters, now as suggesting St. Peter, now a cursed author; Syrian or English knights invented it, according to the country of the witnesses. The year's Probation probably died out as this rite came in, at any rate, the two cannot have long overlapped, yet the Templars defined its discontinuance as a 'military precaution, and that at the very period when crusades were getting out of date. The Kiss² was excused as an old form of prostration in prayer. Permission for Crime was justified, as required by the heat of Syria, or the reputation of the Order, or the scarcity of beds, and held to be expressly sanctioned by the rule about journeys, or³ about eating, or by the Psalm "Ecce Quam Bonum." Whatever the Two men on one horse meant, they can hardly originally have meant that the one who worshipped the Devil survived. The Chapters were originally held at cock crow, as the surest time to find the knights off duty, but this hour was explained later, as fixed by a wish to avoid the heat, to get away early, or not to interfere with the business of the day. The Grand Master's Abacus received the reputation of summoning ghosts and telling fortunes. The rule of Acquiring right or wrong was 'probably

¹ Procès, I. 528.³ Raynouard, 283.² Ibid. II. 139.⁴ Procès, I. 364; II. 249.

suggested by the oath of Poverty; it was then avowed as an act of war against Saracens, but at length supposed to be based on the sanctity of the Order, which was so great it could never restore money once chested.

So the wooden Calf ¹ is called St. Luke's Ox, and the Idol is now a figure ² of some Saint, now of some Demon, or of Mahound (Baphomet), as if to increase its influence or conceal the speaker's ignorance; the natural inference from this is, that none of the popular names were the real one, which is still to seek. The Girdle, again, was sometimes orthodox, sometimes off an Idol's head, ³ yet it was said to be worn as their ransom, or as rubbed against a pillar at Nazareth or St. Polycarp's bones. So lay Absolution arose from a natural power over breaches of discipline, culminated in a claim to forgive sins, and faded away into a rationalist joke; "those who do not kneel have not sinned." Finally, the heretical formula, "May the Thief on the Cross and the glorious Magdalen forgive you," was explained, ⁴ as palliating the Temple habit of denying Christ, and suggesting that the lucrative policy of repairing and illuminating churches was a substitute for orthodoxy.

If this view be correct, quite one-third of the evidence becomes irrelevant, except as proving that the Heresy was ancient enough to be theorized over, and that the rank and file were as ignorant of its true character as a wagtail of a cuckoo's egg's.

¹ Wilcke, II. 267.

² Supra, 56.

³ Procès, I. 419; Ann. Lond. 191, § 14.

⁴ Ménard, 189.

⁵ Raynouard, 282; Procès, I. 359.

CHAP. XXV.

Michelet's and Wilcke's Views.

*How shall we call thee ? What new name,
Fit to move all men's hearts, may move
Thee, deaf to love and shame ?*

(A. SWINBURNE.)

HAD these Templar rites ever been practised by any one before ?

It is said that probabilities point to the Temple having absorbed some contemporary Heresies. I think the contrary. Philip attacked them on an ecclesiastical pretext, but from the same unavowable necessity that led him to attack Boniface's memory, and Clement was equally reluctant to surrender either victim. The prosecution then required a serious effort, and the seriousness of the effort shows that the Templars must have felt very secure previously, and very much at leisure to develop in any way they thought good. There are no such slaves as those who care to be in the right, whether with three or three thousand ; as they had already come out of the house of orthodox bondage, why should they waste their liberty by resting in the wilderness of vulgar sentiment, instead of seeking a less conventional land ?

Which probability is best supported by facts ? Michelet is very trenchant ; the errors, he says, were only parodies of the original orthodox ceremonies. Certainly the new Rule presses the old one as closely as a stoat does a rabbit ; but the different parts of the Heresy seem parts of a connected whole. The small Idols are of the same¹ kind as the larger ones, and the same Initiations and the same rites were gone through indifferently, either in or out of Chapter. The attribute, too, of Fertilizer fits nothing in the statutes, and the four Kisses are too methodical and symbolical to be a burlesque on the kiss of knighthood. Even the rough tests the Rule did sanction were such as, "Beware, you may have to walk and not ride, as you expect," and co-existed with the much rougher heretical test of, "Now you are bound to us, deny Christ."

Wilcke thinks the errors grew : that the Templars became rationalized and despised the Church sacraments, and practised instead a rite

¹ Wilkins, II. 363 ; "Talia" Loiseleur, 192.

which was usual in the Cistercian Order, the Communion in both kinds. Denying, in Manichee fashion, Christ the Miracle Worker, they believed in St. John the Baptist, who worked none, and hence, by confounding the persons, in St. John the Evangelist too. Miracles, however, were still a mental necessity, and did less violence to their philosophy when performed by magical or astrological busts, which were in fashion at that date, and survived down to the days of Napoleon and Byron; and that they employed for this purpose Jewish heads representing a Cabalistic Trinity, and made the adoration of them a drill for bringing their men up to the same state of isolation and emancipation that they were in themselves.

This view reconciles many difficulties in the evidence. One figure might well then be the Friend of God, while another was God; it also explains the double and triple Heads, and the Jewish bias in their historically inaccurate version of the Crucifixion, "How the Jews put Jesus to death for his sins," but it does not explain how the Temple Idols were often three-quarter or full length, nor why no Templar ever saw more than one kind of Head, nor why the prodigious beard of the Makroprosopos became short and clipped in the Temple, nor how it acquired the precise title of Fertilizer, nor why the knights, if they honoured the chalice, despised the wafer, nor why the novices were sworn to Acquire right or wrong, and to permit Crime. Nor is there evidence that the Order specially revered St. John; the Hospital did, but the Temple was vowed to Our Lady; they read ¹his first chapter, no doubt, but that was a favourite passage with many Heretics. Nor would Napoleon have taught Duroc astrology, or Byron Murray. But apart from this, Wilcke's view implies that the Articles show all, and are not mere scraps of knowledge, and that each Preceptor was a kind of Lucretius or Carlyle, compassionately sweeping away superstitions out of the minds of his disciples. We have seen the real Heresy was employed not to educate the rank and file, but to gag them.

¹ Wilcke, II. 122, 148.

CHAP. XXVI.
Loiseleur's View.

Thou canst but make a monster of him, Jacob !
(T. DUFFRY.)

M LOISELEUR considers that the Temple compiled its Heresy from the principles of three contemporary ones—Bogomiles, Euchetes, Luciferians. The actual history of these sects, however, rather gives one the impression that each was suggested to some Heresiarch by some particular phase of that Manichean feeling which always existed in Bulgaria or Asia Minor, that when once a religion was so formed its baser votaries often started an immoral variety, but that the moral varieties were never reformed, only supplanted in time by new religions. Intentional borrowing, then, was improbable; and, in fact, no public sect ever copied the Temple. Why, then, should the Temple have copied anyone else?

Now all four denominations agree in decrying the Sacraments and Divinity of Christ, but the Church that upheld this was their common enemy. Again, all believed they would obtain gold by their blasphemy; but wealth was then thought a sign of heavenly approval; Mahomet's success was justified by it; Waldenses, ¹ Mandrake-eaters, Sorcerers, and Luciferians, shared a love for it with the Manichee and the Templar; while ² the two latter excused themselves as being too holy to be honest. It was a stock weakness of mediæval Heresy, and it lingers to this day in the sketches of a Happy Home given by Teetotal lecturers.

There are other points, however, which were perhaps formerly identical in several of the sects, yet were latterly used by each in a different spirit. The Bogomiles worshipped a triple head, but it represented a trinity of which the Templars denied the second person; "³Nimis juvenis" was said of the novice, F. Troyes, aged eighteen, not of his Lord. Again, the Bogomile Devil had begged God to assist his efforts at creation, but there was a gulf between them ever since; while the Temple Deity was "a friend of God, who talks to him whenever he pleases." This phrase ⁴ only meant a saint, and was a synonym for Moses. Still, say some, it is so exactly like Mephistopheles! Unluckily, the mediæval Devil was not the least like Mephistopheles; he had suffered wrong, and meant to return on high some day and reign in vengeance.

¹ Lucas Tudensis, III. 5; Dulaure, II. (Duchesne V.), 556.
203.

³ Loiseleur, 36.

² Procès, I. 364; P. Vaux Cernay

⁴ Raynouard, 42; Loiseleur, 150.

The Luciferians, again, have had their existence so vigorously proved by M. Loiseleur, that he seems to have established three sects instead of one. First, there is the coarser kind of Manichee, who admitted an unreal Jesus, but called the historical one a pernicious person ¹and the Magdalen his concubine. This, and the Temple phrase, "The Thief on the Cross and the glorious Magdalen," no doubt both sprang from some impious proverb as a common source, but they soon drifted far apart; "malus," means malign; "latro," a criminal. So the defiling the Cross and the chalice, and the *à posteriori* refutation of catholic doctrine, which were common to Sorcerers and Templars, were also repeated ²in an extreme form by the Manichees with an altar-cloth appendix. Fertilizing, again, the attribute of the Temple Idol, is said to have been also that of the Manichean Devil. Was it? Manichean matter was sometimes eternal, sometimes the work of Satan; but fertilizing was not specially his function; if anything, destruction was. No, says M. Loiseleur, I prove my case from Limborch. ³But the Manichean sermon quoted there only says, "God did not make the Church, nor empowered its priests to absolve, nor does he make the trees bud, the earth does that for itself." The preacher was denying a string of orthodox platitudes, and the quotation only proves that "*faciens germinare*" was a popular attribute, then as now, of God.

Next there is the Luciferian proper, whose ritual seems to have been a mere plebeian contradiction of the Church. "What they say is all false; what they sing is false, too." But there is no evidence he worshipped a figure of Satan. Certainly he valued gold perhaps even more highly than the other Heretics; but the Temple did not; if it had, lawless Acquisition would have been ordered more often than Crime, but the latter was confessed thrice as often in the Process. The Temple Idol was so ghastly it must have been devilish? Unluckily 'a ghastly head also appears on the Gnostic coffret from Essarois, and the ghastly heads of architecture are stamped sometimes with the Gnostic cross. The Temple Idol was associated with a Cat, which is a devilish animal? Its insinuating head and waving tail are very suggestive of a serpent; Attila's banner was a green Cat, and his coin a 'ghastly head; and a Cat surveys the Gnostic Communion, and guards the Tree of Knowledge on the walls of Austrian churches.

Thirdly, we have some nocturnal Idolaters, of whom the Stadinghi and Orleans Heretics are a type. Earthly 'men might believe what was written on sheep-skins, but they had the law written on their hearts by God the Creator of all things. This law enjoined on them

¹ Loiseleur, 62.

² Cæsar Heist. V. XXI. 303.

³ Limborch, Hist. Inquis. 132.

⁴ Loiseleur, Pl. II. fig. 1; Twopeny (Specimens of Capitals), Plate last.

⁵ Creasy (Decisive Battles). V. Hammer (Mines), VI. 492, fig. 7; 504, fig. 7.

⁶ Chron. Ademar. (Boquet X.), 538.

to hold orgies, commenced by a skeleton, culminating in a Cat, and terminated by a functionary named ¹Attalus (Attila?) with a jewelled crown, naked and shining to the waist (a common effect in Miracle-plays), with a rough hide apron below; it further ordered them to call this unedifying scene a heavenly vision, and Divine food received from the Holy Ghost. Now this sect seems to me one with a history, and not mere logic behind it; their Prince of Darkness was a gentleman, and his service has all the signs of a Gnostic's probation. No, says M. Loiseleur, ²the Stadinghi believed in Lucifer. No doubt heretical talk accompanied heretical deeds; but I decline to find the key-note of a sect in a side charge, which the Pope thought little of. The distinction between the two sects is as wide as that between the aristocratic and plebeian dispositions; it is mind against temper—the effort to understand against the effort to destroy; and the debased forms of both are traceable to this day, one ³in Paris Rascality, the other in Hoxton Dissent.

Even granting this, M. Loiseleur still has the Superior God of the Templars to explain, who watches the pranks of his officious rival with such philosophic composure; he thinks they copied the Luciferians in all else, but dovetailed this incongruous addition on to their accepted worship; I prefer to start with an unborrowed Divinity. His view further implies that the Order practised just the bald cult alleged in the Indictment; we have seen that their ritual was much more complicated. It also implies that while all other reforms were made by the Convent for its own aggrandisement, this Heresy sprang up spontaneously in the rank and file, and was at last made a statute; we have seen there was no reason for such a reversal of policy. Again, he claims the Luciferians were contemporary, while the Gnostics were dead and gone in A.D. 1300; but both creeds were equally ancient, and the Arabic on the Gnostic coffrets is said to be transitional at latest, even if not pre-Cufic; so that the only doubt, one which might be answered ⁴by the Arabic endorsement on the Temple deed of A.D. 1168, is whether the coffrets date be not A.D. 1400; the strangeness of the Gnostic survival remains. Again, it was a common belief at ⁵that time that the Templars were of the usual Luciferian stamp; but the Papal Commissioners, though they got off the true line and made antiquarian inquiries about heads that only the vulgar believed in at Setalia and Sidon, thought there was more in the Heresy than that. Any guilty secret would have served to unite the Order? Perhaps; still Luciferianism would not come natural to a self governed Order; men do not ridicule systems constructed for their own benefit. Mutiny is as servile an ideal as education.

¹ Vitoduranus, 45.

² Loiseleur, 67.

³ *e. g.* Dubut La Forest (Gaga), 209; J. S. Winter (Reg^{tal} Legends), 156.

⁴ J. Del de la Roulx, 15.

⁵ Baluze, I. 102.

CHAP. XXVII.

Von Hammer's View.

Sail after sail had gone fluttering in during the gloomy winter's day, and now the ship was reeling and rolling under a single close-reefed maintopsail.

(H. KINGSLEY.)

NEAR Voulaine and at Antioch, in Italy and Austria, Von Hammer has found traces of an idolatrous sect of Gnostics, of about the fourteenth century, thus agreeing closely with the Templars in time and place. What do these relics say for themselves?

Certain coins bear Gnostic signs; but they are mainly what Heralds call bedevilments of orthodox ones, the open ¹hand, "dextera Domini," when its two fingers are bent, "facit virtutem;" nor is there any proof that the Temple had the right of coinage. I prefer believing that the minting was done not for Gnostic barons, but by Gnostic workmen.

Then comes the Grail legend; its Gnostic character has been denied, but how else can we explain Galahad's two consecrations? They are described in nearly identical phrases, yet the last is by far the holiest, and seems like a passive succeeding an active rite.

Then comes the architectural evidence; there is hardly a cathedral of that date which does not bear their scutcheon; a head of serene triumph, a head of wistful vigilance, and a crowd ²of expectant masks, lions calves dogs pigs ravens and cats, with projecting snout shades, mediæval followers of Ariphrades.

Then come the Idol coffrets. None of their symbols seem adopted from Christianity; they are rather Pagan ones whose real meaning is concealed; presumably, then, they were the work of Pagan Gnosticism. Such a religion by such a date as A.D. 1200 must have seen its original hopes of general victory fade, and must have been quite unlike all other sects if it did not therefore become hypochondriacal, and press any dogma, however incidental or vicious, into unnatural prominence, that would retain for it the adherents necessary to its own unnecessary existence. Quantities of metaphysic, of contempt for common-place, and of admiration for nature, may well have followed its disciples on their long down-hill journey, but a common sacrament awaited them at last, whose Sursum Corda took this form—"Arise, Germinating Wisdom,

¹ Seelander, Brunswick Coins.

² *e.g.* Parker (Glossary of Architecture, 5th ed.). Vol. II., Plates 72, 117.

Thou with Seven others didst begin us, repenting with Denial and Submission, we adopt thy Girdle and its Crime."

These odd criminals, however, seem to have been sincerely religious. The theological side of their worship, "The number is Seven," is repeated with greater frequency, though greater precautions, than the practical one, "Deny and submit;" the rite then had not subsided into buffoonery. This sounds strange, but is natural. Bayle condemns all sects that are lenient towards pleasure as hopelessly insincere; but one sect may as well use vice as others do asceticism to transport its clients beyond conventional morality. Sanctity and Crime have a kind of affinity.

They have left numerous relics behind them, but many are probably the work of the copyist or the pupil, and there is a lack of historical allusions to them; we need not then infer numerous votaries. This is only natural, such doctrines are better suited for the few than the many.

Are the rites carved on the coffrets the outgrown forms from which the sect had developed? Apparently not. Sun and moon rejoice before their mistress with grimaces worthy of the Boulevard, while the representations of Mithraic, Gnostic, or Manichean conventicles have each an Adamite stove in one corner.

The facts are unintelligible, unless we assume a sect of men with sufficient discrimination to collect, taste to appreciate, and flexibility to appropriate, pseudo-classical outlines, holding a common doctrine in widely remote countries. Moles burrow towards each other's workings, and Wisdom seems to have been condensed into Philanthropy first, and then to have collected allies to combat the Galilean from every dark corner of the anti-Christian world.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Were the Templars Gnostics?

*You shall drink freely the wave of Glensheely,
The stream in the starlight that kings dinna ken.*

(J. HOOG.)

DID the Templars borrow their Heresy from this high-placed, serious and eclectic body? No, says M. Loiseleur, their Indictment does not quote Ogdoads, which are always the central Gnostic point. This assumes the Pope knew all the facts, and disregards the fact that Wisdom's name was specially concealed by the Gnostics. No, says Wilcke, this Gnosticism was mere Phallus-worship for both sexes, and therefore unsuitable for a monastic Order. This assumes it could not be modified; a God of large families would, of course, have been a doubtful boon to the Temple, but one to preside over their stud farms and orchards would not. Both sects, too, had flexible dogmas; the Cat was being gradually discarded by the Temple, and the Idol must have changed at least once from a Public to a House Patron, who procured success to Templars only; while one extra change must have been a trifle to such a Proteus as we have seen Von Hammer's sect was. The original Head, then, may well have been Gnostic.

Besides, the Temple Idol was not wholly terrestrial. It had power not only over crops and gold, but also over animal life, oxen and calves, and could impart knowledge to the soul, and do everything as if Divine. Its official attributes were certainly terrestrial; but heretical speculation naturally took this turn, partly from use and wont, partly to contradict the Church, partly to protect Science. The Dualist form has been handed on, through G. Bruno, even to our days; while in ruder times every Heresiarch assigned his strange god some terrestrial work to do. Mithra fertilized waste places; the early Manichees had a Christ immanent in Nature, Jesus Patibilis; the later ones denied the Church's God made the grass grow; the Anima Mundi, as 'conceived in Abelard's time, made trees grow, animals fertile, and men wise. Any false god might easily have been given this popular character; especially one like Wisdom, whose germinating qualities so nearly fitted her for it anyhow.

¹ Not. and Extraits, XX. 53, 75.

But we need not stop at possibilities; there is some evidence that the Gnostic Wisdom did particularly make trees and plants grow. She in several carvings has a skull at her feet. This does not seem to be the skull in the Indictment, as V. Hammer thinks, which was a mere framework for her bust. It seems rather to stand for the material on which she works; and to be the face on the pole, ¹ or the corpse's, or starved man's, or negro's head, or the carved figure Dante describes as crushed below the weight of the church roof. Often it has strings leading from the corners of its mouth; sometimes it is an open ² rose with strings, while the answering sculpture is a Gnostic cross, the combination being, I conjecture, the Rose Cross. It is frequent in architecture; ³ in my last year's tour for apple grafts through Devonshire I noticed four churches and one manor-house carved with a head whose mouth-strings terminated in fruit or flowers; it is a capital or a gargoyle, and is carved as a fox's head, or a mitred Bishop's, or even (perhaps) Christ's himself; flowers are offered to Wisdom as trophies, ⁴ and wheat grows through the eyeholes of the skull or a gourd from its nostrils. I call this skull, then, an emblem of the earth, or of conventional religion, which requires to be animated by the quickening spirit Wisdom.

Again, the best descriptions of the Temple Idol are not "terrible;" that is a mere excuse for silence by R. Gisi and others like him. Sometimes ⁵ it took the form of a boy, and so does Wisdom. It certainly was triple sometimes, but that ⁶ was a common Gothic repetition; Wisdom was called Trilonomiua (Three-named?), and sometimes had two male faces on one side; if such an Idol had a female face added at the back, as so many others had, we should have a triple Gnostic head at once. Besides, the most detailed accounts of the Temple Idol make it only double-faced; H. Perald says it had two feet before, two behind; W. Arblay, the commutation of whose sentence depended on his veracity, declared that it had a double head; while the celebrated description of it in the chronicle St. Denys declares ⁷ it had half its beard in the rear.

Beyond this, a Gnostic Supreme Deity and a fertilizing Mediator exactly suits the Temple theology. Their ideal was to be provident and rich, and here was knowledge and power; the very objection M. Loiseleur makes, that Crime was only permitted to the Templars for prudence, not ordered as sacred, is the very ground on which Wisdom recommended it to her children; "prodest."

¹ Procès, II. 315; Loiseleur, Pl. II. fig. 1; Vitoduranus, 45. Chron. Ademar (Boquet X.), 538.

² Mines, VI. 492, figs. 5, 9.

³ Sidbury; Plympton St. Mary; Old Revelstoke; Slade Hall.

⁴ Mines, VI. 120, Pl. III., fig. 2; 504, fig. 16; Ottery St. Mary.

⁵ Grouvelle, 77; Mines, VI. 504, fig. 11.

⁶ Parker, II., Pl. 117; Mines, VI. 120, Pl. I. figs. 2, 11.

⁷ Chron. St. Denys (Paul: Edition), V. 188; "au cul."

M. Loiseleur dilates, properly enough, on the difference between Gnosticism and Templarism, but rather forgets that V. Hammer's whole case is that the younger borrowed from the older. The Temple, even while orthodox, was a disciplined body, and we should surely find the intruding Heresy somewhat transfigured after its entry; while a Gnostic sect that turned from a public to a private society may well have turned later, when adopted by the Temple, to a machine for the manufacture of supra-religious obedience. A modified identity of that kind is proved; there are no conclusive touches in the evidence, no allusions to "Seven," or "A stove," which would, I presume, satisfy all opponents, but we do find the Templars using the phrase "Yallah," and worshipping "¹A certain calf erected on a certain altar."

The history of the Order suggests the same conclusion. In this Gnosticism we find what we have a right to expect: close order, not mutiny; silence, not education; a wild semi-logical evolution which had enriched the symmetry and deepened the obscurity of the earlier Temple forms. Their style had changed; neither to the Perpendicular nor the Debased, but the Flamboyant.

¹ Wilkins, II. 359.

CHAP. XXIX.

Was the Fall of the Temple inevitable?

ἡ πολλὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐλείξατε
 χάσας τ' αἰόλους νηφάλια μαιλίγματα,
 καὶ νυκτισμένα δειπν' ἐπ' εσχάρη πυρὸς
 ἔθουον ὦραν οὐδενὸς κοινὸν θεῶν.
 ὃδ' ἐξάλυξας οἴχεται.

(ÆSCHYLUS.)

A BODY inspired by such choice forces as Christian conceit and Greek slyness had a good chance of longevity, and we can guess the angry growl that must have ran through every Chapter-house in Europe when, ¹during the summer of 1307, the shadowy figure of their Patroness disappeared. The King, however, was endowed with that best gift of Heaven, a constant mind, and pursued his way securely. Could he have been stopped?

It would seem not. The Templars had committed the usual fault of a failing aristocracy; they struck too late; what is promptitude one day, is contempt of court the next. They should have openly championed Boniface, and transferred their Convent to Rome; the King nearly succumbed in 1303; he might have quite had there been a second enemy.

Even so the struggle would have been stiff; though the history of the other Orders is the great corrective against an extravagant view of their power. All three left Cyprus because the site was unsuitable, and the outlook hopeless, yet neither of the others attempted to shake an European throne. Philip seized the Temple with great precaution, but this was only natural to a sovereign surrounded with great vassals, and he was so little daunted by the result that he nearly seized the Hospital soon after. The speedy extinction of fire which the Pope recommended was prompted by his fear of the scandal of a public trial. Molay's admission that he was powerless unless united with the Hospital, the advice of the Passage Master, "Be politic with the King," the opinion of H. Perald, "Each must save himself," the attempted flight from France, the inactivity in England, the survivors' scuffles with the Hospital, all point to the Templars knowing they were the weaker party. The Order could only have been saved by accident.

¹ Procès, II. 279.

Nor can we wonder. They were not on a war-footing in Europe; their Commanderies were mere offices for Life-insurance and Rent-collecting. Their crusading feats had all been done at the head of hired mercenaries, and any attempt to enlist men at home the last year would have been a danger-signal to Christendom. The few they did hire in Cyprus were insufficient to protect them even there.

But while their immediate strength was trifling, they were still as powerful as and less orthodox than the other Orders, and would hardly have grown weaker when their service became less arduous and more attractive to idlers. Had they escaped from Philip their independence might have just turned the scale later in the quarrel between the Crown and the nobles, and we might have been spared the dignity of the Grand Monarque, and the wisdom of the Philosophes. The Heresy, however, would probably have changed once more, this time to mere self-worship, and at the Reformation the knights would have scorned to disown a nursing mother whom every cobbler could then insult with impunity. Their subsequent fate is more doubtful. In Germany they would apparently have fared as the Teutons did, while in England they could scarcely have outlived the Papal supremacy; at all events, there would have been heads on the green, had they tried to bar the eighth Harry's way. Still the Order as a whole would surely have survived. The last Hospitaller was known in Maltese drawing-rooms by our Fathers' generation as a devotee to snuff and chess. The last Templar might have been equally well-known in Paris to-day; only, as the red cross is more worthy than the white, let us hope that his amusements would have developed down a different line into whist and cigarettes.

CHAP. XXX.

The present Judges of the Temple.

*Nightingales sang in his woods,
The Master was far away.*

(TENNYSON.)

THERE has been a traditional belief in the Order's innocence, say some. Let us rather say a traditional controversy about it. Even at Poitiers ¹Philip complained to the Pope that his action was being misinterpreted; while five years later ²the two sides were sharply contrasted. Napoleon thought this proved the question to be insoluble; to me it seems to prove nothing. The mob had no means of judging in 1308, and all they knew more in 1313 was that the Grand Master and some of his comrades had been executed. Their deaths, whether they were innocent or not, were meant to impress the spectators, and did; but they would leave serious inquirers still doubtful.

The chroniclers, too, are divided. Any one who says Philip was killed by a fall out hunting, will have said before that the Indictment taxed Molay with being secretly instituted, that G. Vienne was burnt at Paris, and give other signs of copying Villani, who seems to have only known Squin's Denunciation. Meantime, the more monkish writers copy the real Indictment, and say the King died of fever.

Dante blamed Philip, Spenser the knights. Shakespeare is silent, but he always favoured the Fleet Street type of character, and derided the administrative classes, so he would probably have made Molay a prosy martyr, a kind of male Katharine of Arragon. Down to this day no two historians have ever coincided. I most nearly agree with Dupuy, except where he says the Templars were externally criminal; and with Von Hammer, except where he says his Gnostics were Arch-heretics. The Templars ³should not have been confined in such large groups; had they been more isolated, even the hurry of the judges, the clumsiness of the gaolers, and the organized reticence of the prisoners, would not have raised so great a cloud.

But with the experts thus differing, why has there been for 200 years an instinctive public belief in the Temple's innocence? Apparently from a coincidence. When Dupuy first published the evidence, the era of Philosophic Impartiality was just setting in among popular writers, with its natural condonation of vulgarity and vice.

¹ Rilshanger, 495; "Regi impingi posset."² Godefroi, 6131.³ Menard. 176; B. Guidonis, 302.

Now we claim to be free from all such bias, yet we still take a romantic view of the situation. Unfathered sentiment is too much with us. Our nurses never explained to us that Bopeep's charges had escaped from the Pleroma ; nor did our ushers hint that the porker's snout and padlocked mouth of the Trusty Servant are not emblems of virtue. At Clement's Inn we debated vegetarianism, affirmation bills, the morality of carrying arms or of capital punishment, nature as conceived by Wordsworth, and development as proved by Darwin ; and now, when our hair is grey, we debate a Constitution where some Royal phantasm can do no wrong, as solemnly as if all these were scientific propositions, and not mere tenets invented by Manichees for pressing personal reasons, and handed down to us by the pompous stupidity of Puritans and Freethinkers, the present owners of the hard-dying heretical character. And so in history we declare the Templars innocent. Such a view assumes that Philip was cruel, Clement cowardly, and Villaret base ; if they were, was Molay likely to be immaculate ? The more natural theory is that all four were bent on self-aggrandizement, the King securing his reputation, the Pope his authority, the Hospital its plunder, not more unscrupulously than the Temple had its own cohesion. Deriders of mediæval Orthodoxy in the spirit of mediæval Heresy, how are we wiser than the jangling crowds who burst into the Churches of the fallen Order, while every corbel on the roof grinned at their ignorant discussions ? Is there no one better fitted than ourselves to defend the Temple of Solomon ?

CHAP. XXXI.

The Claimants of its Mantle.

*When the nations of the earth are a-standin' all aroun',
Who's a goin' to be chosen for to wear the Glory-crown?*

(J. C. HARRIS.)

WE are. So says a certain school of literary politicians. Even if these old knights did not rise quite clear of the usual self-seeking level of their own day, we at least enforce the higher meanings of Christianity all over the West, with no indirect motive to pervert our lives.

Let us see how they will stand the question. Heine chooses to see nothing in modern history but the shears of the Revolution, as if the world were composed of ostracized nations; J. Morley declares that Ireland's attitude towards an united England can be inferred from what it is to a divided one; Russell Lowell denies, when his opponents are in office, that civilization ever gets forward on a powder cart, but when his own side is in, finds music weak-winged to express the glories of their civil war: each being an intentional fallacy advanced for presumably serious readers by extremely serious philosophers. Here is the new crusade, and this is the honour of the Knights of the Holy Ghost. A tilt at The Windmill is more manly sport.

FINIS.

APPENDIX A.

STANDING OF THE 138 TEMPLARS WHO APPEARED BEFORE
W. OF PARIS.

Seven Templars confessed four offences, including Idolatry: 0 priests; 2 knights; 5 high servant officials:—

R. Larchant (Steward)	26 years in order.
G. Liencuria (Preceptor Rheims)	35
W. Arblay (Royal Almoner)	20
J. Turno (Treasurer)	32
H. Perald (Visitor)	44
R. Gisi (Collector Champagne)	22
W. Gi (Molay's groom)	4

Average..... 26 years.

Two others, who only confessed three offences, confessed the Idol:—

J. Ducis (Preceptor Ivry), 28 years. | J. Anisiaco (Preceptor Valeia), 23 years.

78 confessed three offences—12 priests; 3 knights; 18 local Preceptors, &c.; and 45 servants. Average, 14½ years.

36 confessed two offences—0 priests; 7 knights; 2 local Preceptors, &c.; and 17 servants. Average, 15¼ years.

13 confessed only one offence—6 priests; 2 knights; 2 high servant officials; and 3 servants:—

J. Fouilley (priest).....	4	G. Gonavilla (Preceptor Acqui-	
R. Tremblay (priest).....	20	taine)	28
R. Caprosia (Head carpenter) ..	8	N. Trecis	6
J. Molay (Grand Master).....	42	R. Saltibus	7
R. Orleans (Preceptor Orleans,		A. Rumercourt (priest)	3
priest)	15	R. Moyset	45
J. Sivry (priest)	1		
S. Christian (steward)	2		
J. Mort Fountain (priest).....	7	Average.....	14½ years

Four denied their guilt—all servants; only one defended Order in 1310. Average, 6¾ years.

APPENDIX B.

TABLE OF CONFESSIONS BY THIRTY TEMPLARS WHO APPEARED BOTH BEFORE W. OF PARIS AND THE PAPAL COMMISSIONS.

D = Denial. ° = Spitting. 2, 3, 4 = if repeated. P = Permission for Crime.
K = Kiss. ^{nb} = where given. I = Idol. n. g. = not guilty.

	1307.	1310.		1307.	1310.
R. Larchant	^{bn} KD ^{s3} PI ..	n. g.	P. Blesis	^{s3} DPK ⁿ ..	^{s3} DK ⁿ
R. Tremblay	D ^s ..	^s D	R. Gisi	^s DK ^{bn} PI ..	^s DK ^{bn} PI
G. Delphin	^{s3} DP ..	^s DP	H. St. Jorio	^s DK ^b ..	^s D
J. Nivella	^{nb} KD ^{s3} ..	^s DK ^b	D. Divio	^{bn} KD ^s ..	K ⁿ D ^s
J. St. Lupo	^s DP ..	^s D	R. Tavernia	^s DK ^b P ..	^s DP
T. Bafemont	^{s3} DKP ..	^s DPK ^b	J. Ponte Episcopi..	^{s3} DK ⁿ ..	^s D
W. Gi	^{nb} KD ^{s2} PI ..	^s DK	E. Cheruto	^s DK ^{nb} P ..	^s DK ⁿ
W. Gauche	^s DP ..	^s DP	H. Jicro	DK ..	^s D
W. Arblay	^{s3} DK ^{bn} PI ..	^s DPK ^b I	J. Verjus	^{s3} DPK ..	,,
W. Varnage	^{s3} DP ..	^s DP	N. Trecis	^s D ..	,,
H. Laboyssade ..	^{s3} DP ..	^{s3} D	R. Saltibus	^s D ..	,,
P. Arblay	^{s2} DK ^{bn} P ..	^s DK ^{bn}	P. Bono-Opere ..	^s DK ⁿ ..	,,
J. Elemosina	^{s3} DP ..	^s D	J. Gisi	^{s3} DK ⁿ P ..	^s DPK ⁿ
J. Turno	^s DK ^{bn} PI ..	^s DK ⁿ	N. Compendio....	^s DK ^{bn} P ..	^s DP
P. Grumenil	^{nb} KD ^s P ..	^s DK ⁿ P			
S. Domont	PD ^s K ^{bn} ..	^s D			
			Total offences ..	77	52

APPENDIX C.

TABLE OF CONFESSIONS BY 225 TEMPLARS BEFORE THE PAPAL COMMISSION.

De- fended Order.	Bishop who Tried.	Council that Sentenced.	Confessions to Com- mission.	De- fended Order.	Bishop who Tried.	Council that Sentenced.	Confessions to Com- mission.
<i>Procès I. 174.—Six witnesses. Others sworn.</i>				<i>Procès I. 377.—Seven witnesses.</i>			
	Tours		D ^s		Paris	Sens	*DP
	Langres		DK ⁿ bI	82.	"	"	*DK ⁿ PI
	London		*DIK ^{bn}	65.	"	Sens	"
	Langres		K ^{bn} DI	88.	"	"	"
	Chalons		DsK ^b	88.	Nevers	Rheims	"
	Tours		D*K ^b Cat. I		Paris	Sens	*DP
<i>232.—Seven witnesses. Another sworn.</i>				<i>421.—Eight witnesses.</i>			
	Bourges		*DK ⁿ P	77.	"	"	*D
	Paris		DP		Nemur		*DK ^{bn}
	"		*DPK ⁿ Cat.		Paris	Sens	*D
	Orleans		*DK ⁿ I	77.	"	"	"
	Off. Poitiers		n. g.	137.	"	"	"
	"		*DK ^{ab}	"	"	"	"
	King's Knights		n. g.	72.	Orleans	"	"
				70.	"	"	*DK ^b
<i>287.—Eleven witnesses. Another sworn.</i>				<i>443.—Fourteen witnesses.</i>			
	Orleans	Sens	*DK ^{bn} P	64.	Amiens	Rheims	*DP
61.	Langres	"	*DK ^b	68.	Rheims	"	*DPK
	"		"	63.	"	"	*DP
	Embrun	Sens	"		Amiens	"	*DPK ^a
	Orleans	"	"	62.	Rheims	"	"
66.	"	"	*DK ^b P	63.	"	"	"
	"		*DK ^b	65.	"	"	*DK ^b
	"		"	74.	"	"	*DK ^{mbn} P
	"		"		Amiens	"	*D
	"		"		"	"	*DPK ^b
	"		"		"	"	"
	"		"		"	"	"
	"		"		"	"	"
	"		"		"	"	"
<i>338.—Nine witnesses.</i>				<i>459.—Six witnesses. One other sworn.</i>			
		Sens	"	78.	Paris	Sens	n. g.
99.	"	"	*DP	86.	"	"	*DK ^{bn}
	"	Sens	*D		"	"	*DPK ^b I
	"	"	*DK ^b P	80.	"	"	*D
	"	"	*DP	71.	Orleans	"	n. g.
	"	Sens	*DK ^b	89.	Paris	"	*D
	"	"	"	<i>511.—Ten witnesses.</i>			
	"	"	"		"	"	n. g.
	"	Sens	"	65.	"	"	DK ⁿ
	"	"	"	78.	Sens	"	*D
	"	Sens	"	79.	Chartres	"	{ n. g.
<i>367.—Three witnesses.</i>					"	"	{ *DPK ^b
	Off. Poitiers		{ n. g.	"	"	"	*D
	Amiens		{ *DPK ^b Cat	65.	Sens	"	"
	"		*DP	"	Paris	"	"
	"		*DK ^{bn} P	77.	Rheims	Rheims	"
				74.	"	"	*DK ^b
				80.	Paris	Sens	*D

De-fended Order.	Bi-hop who Tried.	Council that Sentenced.	Confessions to Com-mission.	De-fended Order.	Bishop who Tried.	Council that Sentenced.	Confessions to Com-mission.
<i>Procès II. 165.—Eleven witnesses.</i>				<i>Procès II. 217.—Six witnesses.</i>			
75.	Off. Poitiers	Sens	n. g.		Limoges		D
	Tours		sDP		"		"
	"		sD		"		K ⁿ Ds
67.	Orleans		sDP		"		K ⁿ P
	Paris Inqu.		"		"		"
	Tours		sK ⁿ		"		K ⁿ D
	"		sD				
	Off. Poitiers		"		233.—Ten witnesses.		
	"		sDK ⁿ		Clermont		DsPK ⁿ
	"		sD		"		K ⁿ D ^s
	"				"		K ⁿ DsPI
					"		K ⁿ DsP
					"		"
					"		DsP
					"		K ⁿ DsPI
					"		DsP
					"		K ⁿ DsP
					"		DsP
					256.—Three witnesses.		
				74.	Paris		sD
				64.	"	Sens	"
							"
					263.—Three witnesses.		
					Macon		K ⁿ D
					"		"
							"

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